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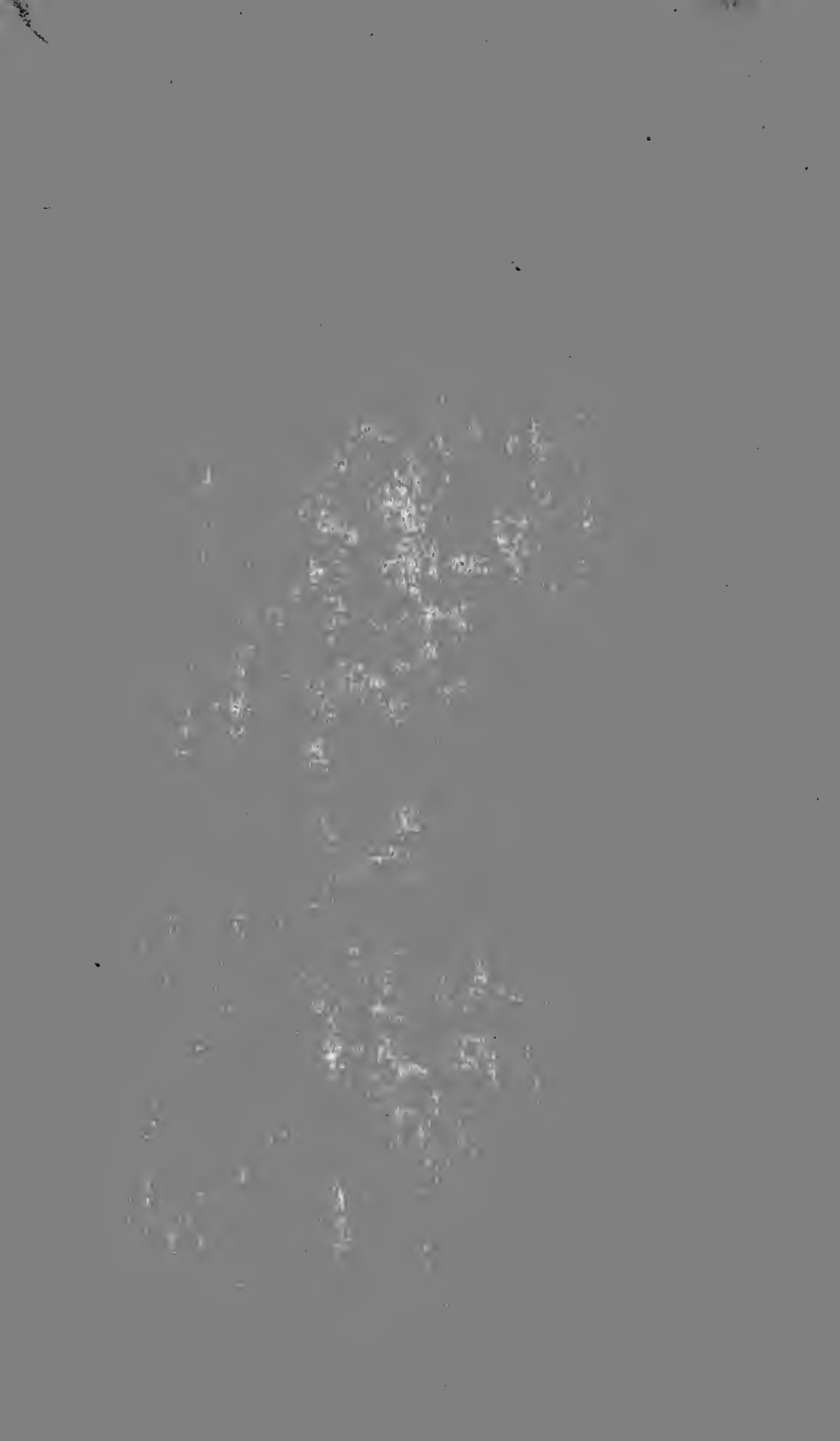
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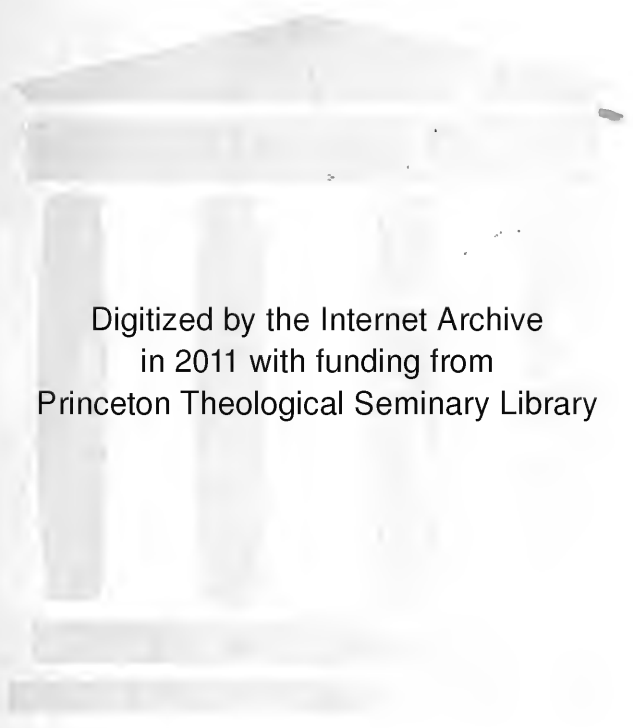
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A
Map
of the
STATE
of
VERMONT
by
J. Whitcomb
1795

THE
NATURAL AND CIVIL
HISTORY
OF
VERMONT.

BY SAMUEL WILLIAMS, LL. D.

MEMBER OF THE METEOROLOGICAL SOCIETY IN GERMAN-
NY, OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN PHILADEL-
PHIA, AND OF THE ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
IN MASSACHUSETTS.

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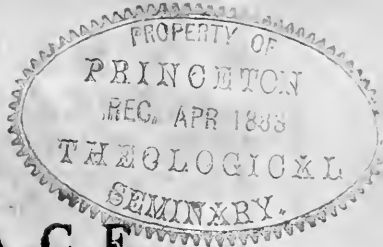
TO THE CITIZENS OF THE STATE
OF
V E R M O N T,
THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS
ON THEIR
NATURAL AND CIVIL
H I S T O R Y,

Are humbly INSCRIBED ;
As a TESTIMONY of RESPECT
For *their* many VIRTUES,
As an ATTEMPT to Promote
A more particular ACQUAINTANCE
With their own AFFAIRS,
And with the most ardent WISHES
For their further IMPROVEMENT
And PROSPERITY,

By their obedient
and humble Servant,

The AUTHOR.

Rutland, July 16, 1794.



P R E F A C E.

THREE centuries have passed away since America was first discovered by *Columbus*. From that time until now, the affairs of America have engaged the attention of historians and philosophers.—The natural productions of this continent, have been one object of general inquiry. Among the Spanish writers, there are some good essays on the natural history of the southern parts of America. In Canada, some of the physicians and jesuits were attentive to the natural productions of that part of the continent; and have left some valuable pieces on the natural history of Newfrance. This kind of knowledge was not much attended to, by the first settlers of the British colonies; and we have but few of their ancient writings, in which it was contemplated at all. Obligated to depend upon transient and partial accounts, the best writer upon natural history, M. de Buffon, has fallen into many mistakes respecting the natural productions of America, which, more accurate observations would have corrected. The subject instead of being fully explored, is yet a treasure but little examined.

The

The Man of America was an object still more curious and important. But the age in which the first discoveries and settlements were made, was not enough enlightened, to afford either accurate or impartial observations, on the manners, customs, language, abilities, or state of society, among the Indians. Prejudiced by their sordid manners, and enraged by their barbarities, the men of Europe never looked for any thing good in such men: And while interest and revenge joined to destroy that unhappy race, but few were able to consider their customs or rights with calmness, or dared to say any thing in their favour.—It is not more than half a century, since this subject has been properly attended to by philosophers: And their conclusions have been of the most opposite and contrary kinds. Some have with great zeal advanced, that the perfection of man was to be found in the savage state; while others have as warmly contended, that this was the lowest state of degradation and abasement, to which the human race can possibly be reduced. Such opposite and contrary systems make it necessary to examine this part of the natural history of man, with great care and impartiality; that we may distinguish what was valuable in that stage of society, and what was disadvantageous and degrading.

AN object of still higher magnitude and importance, has been presented to our view by the American Revolution. The first settlers in the British colonies were left in a great measure by their sovereigns,

sovereigns, to take care of themselves. The only situation which they could take, while they were clearing the woods and forming their settlements, was that of equality, industry, and economy. In such a situation every thing tended to produce, and to establish the spirit of freedom. Their employments, customs, manners, and habits; their wants, dangers, and interests, were nearly the same; these, with every other circumstance in their situation, operated with a steady and certain tendency, to preserve that equality and freedom, which nature had made.—This spirit of freedom was in some degree checked by the customary interpositions of royal authority: But these were too irregular and contradictory, to become matters of veneration, to alter the natural feelings of men, or to change the natural course and tendency of things: And while the ministers of kings were looking into their laws and records, to decide what should be the rights of men in the colonies, nature was establishing a system of freedom in America, which they could neither comprehend, or discern. The American Revolution explained the business to the world, and served to confirm what nature and society had before produced.

HAVING assumed their rank among the nations of the earth, the states of America now present to the world a new state of society; founded on principles, containing arrangements, and producing effects, not visible in any nation before. The uncommon and increasing prosperity which has attended

tended it, has ascertained its spirit and tendency : The people are distinguished by the spirit of inquiry, industry, economy, enterprize, and regularity : The government is dependent upon, but guides, and reverences the people : And the whole country is rapidly increasing in numbers, extent, wealth, and power. The highest perfection and felicity, which man is permitted to hope for in the present life, may rationally be expected in such a state of society : And it becomes of course the object of universal inquiry and attention.

To represent the state of things in America in a proper light, particular accounts of each part of the federal union seem to be necessary ; and would answer other valuable purposes. An able historian, the Reverend Dr. *Belknap*, has obliged the world with the History of *Newhampshire*. The following treatise is designed to describe the operations of nature and society, in the adjacent state of *Vermont*. This is the youngest of the states, an inland country, and now rapidly changing from a vast tract of uncultivated wilderness, to numerous and extensive settlements. In this stage of society, industry and economy seem to produce the greatest effects, in the shortest periods of time.

THE manner in which the work has been executed, I am apprehensive will require much candour in the reader. In the variety of subjects which have come under contemplation, I cannot flatter myself, that I have been free from errors
and

and mistakes : And the reason why several of the subjects are so imperfectly considered, was because I had not the ability or information to state them otherwise.

THE American war considered with respect to its causes, operations, or effects, presents to our view some of the most important events, which have taken place in modern times : But neither of these particulars can be comprehended in the history of any particular state. To give such an imperfect view of this subject as could be properly contained in the history of Vermont, did not appear eligible. No further accounts therefore of the war, are inserted, than what appeared necessary to explain the subject, which I had more particularly in view.

THE controversies which took place between the states of Vermont, Newyork, and Newhampshire, were of the most dangerous nature ; and they were agitated for a while, with a violence greatly unfavourable to the peace and safety of the whole union. Most of the wars which have taken place among mankind, have been occasioned by disputes respecting territory and jurisdiction : And however just or proper it might be for any nation, to give up part of its territory and dominion to its neighbours, such a sacrifice was scarcely ever made without compulsion and force.—To have expected Newyork would voluntarily give up part of her territory, when the decisions of the king, and the law were in her favour, was to ex-

pect that which is never done by any sovereign or nation, while they have power to prevent it. To have expected the people of Vermont would voluntarily submit to a government, which set aside their titles to the lands which they had purchased of the crown, and made valuable by their labours and sufferings, was to look for that, which no people ever ought to submit to, if it is in their power to avoid it.—When the states of Newyork, Newhampshire, and Vermont, had engaged in a controversy of this kind, it was more agreeable to the course of human affairs to expect it would produce a civil war, than to look for so much wisdom and moderation among either of the contending parties, as to prevent it.

IN relating these controversies, I have felt a constant anxiety, lest I should misrepresent the proceedings of either of those states. I had not the interests or the passions which those parties produced, to guard against; nor am I apprehensive that prejudice has misled me, in relating any of those matters. But it is not improbable that I have not had complete information in some particulars, respecting those complicated controversies; and may have mistaken the views of parties, in some of their leading transactions. If this should be found to be the case, it will give me great pleasure to receive such further information, as shall enable me to correct any mistakes. Those who point out to us our errors, perform the same friendly office, as those who help us to new truths.

THE most important of all our philosophical speculations, are those which relate to the history of man. In most of the productions of nature, the subject is fixed, and may always be found and viewed in the same situation. And hence a steady course of observation, serves to discover and ascertain the laws by which they are governed, and the situation they will assume in other periods of time. It is probable the actions and affairs of men are subject to as regular and uniform laws, as other events : And that the same state of society will produce the same forms of government, the same manners, customs, habits, and pursuits, among different nations, in whatever part of the earth they may reside. Monarchy, freedom, superstition, truth, and all the general causes which actuate mankind, seem every where to bear the same aspect, to operate with the same kind of influence, and to produce similar effects ; differing not in their nature and tendency, but only in the circumstances and degrees, in which they influence different nations.—But nothing is stationary, nothing that depends upon the social state, is so unalterably fixed, but that it will change and vary with the degradation or improvement of the human race. And hence, while the nature of man remains unaltered, the state of society is perpetually changing, and the men of one age and country, in many respects appear different from those of another. And as men themselves are more or less improved, every thing that constitutes a part of
of

of the social state, will bear a different appearance among different nations, and in the same nation in different circumstances, and in different periods of time.—To ascertain what there is thus peculiar and distinguishing in the state of society in the federal Union, to explain the causes which have led to this state, to mark its effect upon human happiness, and to deduce improvement from the whole, are the most important objects which civil history can contemplate in America : And they are objects, every where more useful to men, than any refinements, distinctions, or discoveries, merely speculative.

I HAVE wished to keep such objects in view, in considering the state of society in this part of the continent : But it is with diffidence that I submit the attempt to the view of the public. The disposition of America is to favour such attempts and publications, as are adapted to promote any valuable public purpose : But speculative and useless essays cannot much engage the attention of a people, whose main object is the prosperity and improvement of their country. The public sentiment will be a just decision, among which of these, the following work ought to be placed.

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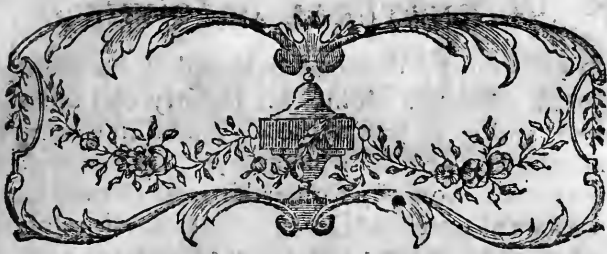
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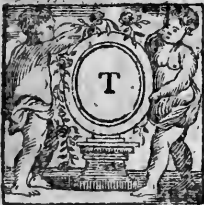
T H E

NATURAL AND CIVIL

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

C H A P. I.

Situation, Boundaries, Area, Soil, and Face of the Country.



THE state of Vermont is situated between $42^{\circ} 44'$ and 45 degrees of north latitude ; and between $1^{\circ} 43'$ and $3^{\circ} 36'$ of longitude, east from the meridian of Philadelphia. It is altogether an inland country ; surrounded by the states of Newhampshire, Massachusetts, New-york, and the province of Canada : That part of the state of Vermont which is nearest to the sea-coast, is at the distance of seventy or eighty miles, from any part of the ocean.

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On

On the south, Vermont is bounded by the state of Massachusetts. This line is forty one miles in length, and was a part of the divisional line between Massachusetts and Newhampshire. It was derived from the decision of a former king of Greatbritain : On March 5, 1740, George the second, resolved, " That the northern boundary of the province of Massachusetts, be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket falls ; and a straight line drawn thence due west, until it meets with his Majesty's other governments." The point three miles north of Patucket falls, was found to be in the town of Dracut. From that point, the surveyor, *Richard Hazen*, in the months of February and March, 1741, ran the divisional line between Massachusetts and Newhampshire. He was directed by Mr. *Belcher*, at that time governor of both those provinces, to allow ten degrees for the westerly variation of the magnetic needle. The magnetic variation, at that time and place, was not so great, as the surveyor assumed : And when he arrived at Connecticut river, a distance of fifty five miles, instead of being in a west line, he had deviated to the north $2^{\circ} 57''$ of latitude. This error in the direction of the line, occasions a loss of 59,873 acres to Newhampshire ; and of 133,897 acres to Vermont.

The eastern boundary of Vermont, is formed by the west bank of Connecticut river. This line, following the course of the river, is about two hundred miles ; and is derived from the decree of George the third. On the 20th of July, 1764, his Majesty ordered and declared, " The western banks of the river Connecticut, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the forty fifth degree of northern latitude, *to be* the boundary line between

between the two provinces of Newhampshire and Newyork."

The north line of the state begins at the latitude of 45 degrees north, and runs upon that parallel, from Lake Champlain to Connecticut river. This line is ninety miles and one quarter of a mile long, and divides this part of the United States from the province of Canada. Much pains was taken by the provinces of Newyork and Canada, to ascertain the latitude of 45 by astronomical observations. This was done by commissioners from both provinces, in the month of September, 1767. At the place where the line crosses Lake Champlain, they erected a monument of stone, which is yet standing. The line was afterwards run by Mr. *Collins*, but with what accuracy has not since been examined.—This line ariseth from the proclamation of George the third, of October 7, 1763, determining the southern boundary of the province of Quebec; and from the treaty of peace between Britain and the states of America, in 1783.

Beginning at the southwest corner of the town of Pownal, the west line of Vermont runs northerly, along the western boundaries of the townships of Pownal, Bennington, Shaftsbury, Arlington, Sandgate, Rupert, Pawlet, Wells, and Poultney, as the said townships are now held and possessed, to the river commonly called Poultney river; thence down the same, through the middle of the deepest channel thereof, to East Bay; thence through the middle of the deepest channel of East Bay, and the waters thereof, to where the same communicate with Lake Champlain; thence through the middle of the deepest channel of Lake Champlain, to the eastward of the islands called the Four Brothers, and to the westward of the islands called the Grand Isle, and Long Isle, or the Two Heroes, and to the westward of the Isle la Mott, to the forty fifth degree of north latitude.

latitude.—This line is about one hundred and seventy miles in length ; and results from the declaration of the commissioners of Newyork, of October 7, 1790 ; and the concurring act of the general assembly of the state of Vermont, passed October 28, 1790.

Computing by the latitudes, the length of the state from the southern to the northern boundary, is one hundred and fifty seven miles and an half. The mean width from east to west is about sixty five miles. This will give $10,237\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, or 6,552,000 acres, as the superficial area contained within the boundaries of Vermont ; but a considerable deduction must be made, to exclude the waters, and reduce it to the just quantity of land.

The land included within these limits, is of a very fertile nature, fitted for all the purposes and productions of agriculture. The soil is deep, and of a dark colour ; rich, moist, warm, and loamy. It bears corn and other kinds of grain, in large quantities, as soon as it is cleared of the wood, without any ploughing or preparation : And after the first crops, naturally turns to rich pasture or mowing.

The face of the country exhibits very different prospects. Adjoining to our rivers, we have the wide extensive plains, of a fine level country. At a small distance from them, the land rises into a collection and chain of high mountains, intersected with deep and long valleys. Descending from the mountains, the streams and rivers appear in every part of the country, and afford a plentiful supply of water.

C H A P. II.

MOUNTAINS.—*Their Direction, Altitude, Tops, Caverns, the Origin of Springs and Rivers.*

IN the formation of our mountains, nature has constructed her works on a large scale ; and presents to our view objects, whose magnitude and situation, naturally engage our attention. Through the whole tract of country which lies between the west side of Connecticut river, and the east side of Hudson's river, and Lake Champlain, there is one continued range of mountains.—These mountains begin in the province of Canada : From thence, they extend through the states of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and terminate within a few miles of the sea coast. Their general direction is from N. N. E. to S. S. W. ; and their extent is through a tract of country, not less than four hundred miles in length.—They are one continued range or collection of mountains, appearing as if they were piled one upon another. They are generally from ten to fifteen miles in width, are much intersected with valleys, abound with springs, and streams of water, and are every where covered with woods. Their appearance, is among the most grand and majestic phenomena, which nature exhibits.—From the perpetual verdure which they exhibit, they are called the *Green Mountains* ; and with great propriety their name has been assigned to the state.

The altitude of mountains, has been one of the curious inquiries, which the philosophers of this century

century have been solicitous to determine. The most common method of measuring their heights, has been by the Barometer. I do not know that in many cases, a better method could have been applied. The theory however of this, is not attended with certainty, or precision : And in its application, it has generally given very different altitudes, to the same mountain. Geometrical mensurations admit of greater certainty and simplicity, where they can be applied : But the difficulty and expense of making such mensurations, has prevented any great progress from being made, in this part of the natural history of the earth. In North America, the height of most of our mountains, remains yet to be determined.—In December, 1792, I attempted to ascertain the altitude of *Kellington Peak*, one of the highest of the green mountains, by a geometrical process; and had the happiness to succeed in the mensuration. The measures stood thus,

Height of <i>Kellington Peak</i> above the plain at the State House in Rutland, by geometrical mensuration,	Feet. 2813.
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Admitting	

Admitting the waters of the river St. Lawrence at Quebec, to be of the same level as the sea, the altitude of *Kellington Peak* by these measures and computations, is 3454 feet above the level of the ocean. The altitude at which a perpetual congelation takes place in this latitude ($43^{\circ} 30'$) is about 8066 feet above the level of the sea. This is probably four fifths of a mile, higher than the tops of our highest mountains*. But although they are far below the freezing

* Mount Blanc in Savoy, is the highest mountain in Europe, and probably the highest in the other hemisphere. In 1787 its altitude was found by M. *de Sauffure* to be 15,673 English feet above the level of the sea. In the southern parts of America M. *Bouguer* found the highest part of the Cordilleras, to be 20,590 feet in height; this is the highest of any upon the globe.—In Virginia, according to Mr. *Jefferson*, the mountains of the Blue ridge, and of these the Peaks of Otter, are thought to be of the greatest height, measured from their base. “From data,” saith he, “which may found a tolerable conjecture, we suppose the highest peak to be about 4000 feet perpendicular.” (Notes on Virginia, Phila. Edit. p. 18.)—The white mountains in the northeasterly part of New Hampshire, are generally esteemed to be the highest lands in New England. Their altitude has not been determined by geometrical mensuration, but there is one circumstance attending their phenomena, which may serve to denote their altitude, with much probability. From the observations which have been made of their tops, it appears that the altitude of the highest of the white mountains, is below the point of perpetual congelation. On June 19, 1774, on the south side, in one of the gullies, the snow was five feet deep. On September 1, 1783, the tops of the mountain was covered with ice and snow, newly formed. In 1784, snow was seen on the south side of the largest mountain, until July 12th. In 1790, the snow lay until the month of August. In general, the mountain begins to be covered with snow as early as September; but it goes off again, and seldom becomes fixed until the end of October, or the beginning of November: But from that time, it remains until July. (Belknap's Hist. New Hampshire, 3. 46, 47.)—From these observations it is apparent, that the white mountains rise nearly to the line of perpetual congelation in that latitude, but do not fully come up to it. These mountains are in the latitude of $44^{\circ} 15'$ north. The line of perpetual congelation in that latitude, as deduced from the observations which have been made

freezing point in summer, their phenomena and productions are very much affected by the degree of cold, to which they are constantly exposed.

The tops of our mountains are generally composed of rocks, covered over with moss. The trees appear to be very aged, but they are of a small size; and all of them are of the species called evergreens; pine, spruce, hemlock, and fir; intermixed with shrubs and bushes. The powers of vegetation regularly diminish, as we approach the summit of an high mountain; the trees degenerate in their dimensions, and frequently terminate in a shrubbery of spruce and hemlock, two or three feet high; whose branches are so interwoven and knit together, as to prevent our passing between them. Trees thus diminished, with shrubs and vines bearing different berries, and a species of grass called winter grass, mixed with the moss of the rocks, are all the vegetable productions, which nature brings forth on the tops of our highest mountains.

The sides of our mountains are generally very irregular, and rough; and some of them appear to have large apertures, or openings among the rocks. Among these subterraneous passages, some caverns of a considerable extent have been found. One of these is at Clarendon, on the southeast side of a mountain, in the westerly part of the town. The mouth of the cave is not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. In its descent, the passage makes an angle with the horizon of 35 or 40 degrees; but continues of nearly the same diameter, through the whole length,

made in Europe, is 7872 feet above the level of the sea. From the greater coldness of the American climate, the point of perpetual congelation in a similar American latitude, cannot exceed, but must rather fall something short of this. The altitude therefore of the white mountains, cannot be estimated as more than 7800 feet above the level of the ocean: And this is probably the altitude of the highest mountains in the eastern states.

length, which is thirty one feet and an half.—At that distance from the mouth, it opens into a spacious room; twenty feet long, twelve feet and an half wide, and eighteen or twenty feet high. Every part of the floor, sides, and roof of this room, appear to be a solid rock, but very rough and uneven. The water is continually percolating through the top, and has formed stalactites of various forms; many of which are conical, and some have the appearance of massive columns.—At the north part of this room, there is another aperture of about forty inches diameter, very rough, and uneven. This aperture is the beginning of another passage, through the internal parts of a solid rock: The direction of this passage is oblique, and full of stops or notches, and its length about twenty four feet. Descending through this aperture, another spacious room opens to view. The dimensions of this apartment are twenty feet in width, thirty in length, and twenty in height. In the spring of the year, the whole of this lower room is full of water; and at all other seasons, water is to be found in the lower parts of it.—No animal has been found to reside in this cave, and it evidently appears to be the production of nature, untouched by the hand of man.—Another of these caverns is at Danby, and a third at Dorset. These are said to be more curious than this at Clarendon, but they have not been properly explored. There are others in different parts of the state: All of them are the genuine productions of nature; never altered by art, and never inhabited by any of the human race.

One of the most curious and important operations which nature carries on in the mountains, is the formation of springs and rivers. All our streams of water in Vermont, have their rise among the green mountains: From a number of these uniting, are formed all those brooks and rivers, which run in different directions through the various parts of the

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country:

country : And in general, the origin of rivers is to be found in the mountains, or high lands. In what manner do the mountains serve to produce these effects ? And whence is it, that the highest mountains attract, collect, become the reservoirs, the receptacles, or the source, of the largest and most constant collections of water ? One part of this effect, seems to be derived from the constant ascent of the waters, from the bowels to the surface of the earth. That water is contained in large quantities in the bowels of the earth, is evident from the springs which are found in almost all declivities ; and from those which every where supply wells, at the depth of twenty or thirty feet from the surface of the earth. That these waters are constantly ascending towards the surface of the earth, and going off into the atmosphere, is evident from the evaporation which is constantly taking place, and from the manner in which heat, or as it is generally expressed, a drought affects both the surface of the earth, and the springs, by raising and dissipating the water from both. If this ascent of the waters be obstructed by any strata of clay, rocks, or any other substance, through which they cannot pass, they will collect in such quantities, as to form or find for themselves a channel, through which they may be discharged. The place of this discharge can only be on the side of a hill, or in some ground below the level of that place, where they are thus collected : And at such a place the waters would continue to issue out, as long as they continued to ascend, whatever might be the severity or duration of a drought.—In some such way, it appears probable to me, that some of the springs are formed in the mountains : By waters which are ascending towards the surface of the earth ; but which, instead of going off at the top, have their discharge in small quantities, at the sides of the mountains. Any strata of clay, rocks, or of any other
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matter, which would retain the water when it descends in rain or dew, and produce a spring for their descent, would also prevent the ascending water from passing through them, and might produce a spring from their ascent.—This ascent of the waters from the bowels to the surface of the earth, is a constant, powerful, and unceasing operation of nature : And seems to be the only cause, which is adequate to the formation of those springs, which are *perennial*. Such springs could scarcely be formed, or preserved, by the waters which descend in rain, because they are so little affected in the severest droughts : In these seasons, instead of being replenished by rain, the earth to the depth of many feet, is much exhausted of its water by heat. And no rain can ever fall upon the surface of the earth, which was not first carried off from it, by evaporation.

Mountains serve also to form small streams and rivulets, by preventing the evaporation of water from their surfaces. The vapours out of which the clouds and rains are formed, are all of them first raised from the surface of the earth. When the evaporation is in an open field, exposed to the sun and wind, the exhalations are soon carried off into the atmosphere, and the surface of the earth is left dry. When the evaporation is from lands covered over with thick trees and bushes, the influence of the sun and winds are much prevented ; and the waters stagnate upon the surface of the earth, and render it wet and miry, in the form of swamps, and confined waters. When the evaporation is from the sides and tops of mountains, covered with vegetables, the waters are but slowly carried off by the heat and wind ; nor can they stagnate, but will be gradually and constantly descending down the sides of the mountains, in natural or artificial channels : And in this way, the mountains will also be constantly producing small streams or rivulets.

A similar effect will also be produced by the condensation and collection of the vapours in the atmosphere, occasioned by the height and coldness of the mountains. When the weather is fair and clear, and the atmosphere serene and pleasant in the valleys, the tops of the mountains are often obscured, and covered with a thick fog or cloud. In the cool mornings of the spring and fall, the vapours form a thick fog on the sides and tops of the mountains, which do not dissolve and disappear, until the sun has risen several degrees above the horizon, and the heat is considerably increased. In damp and rainy weather, the largest part of the clouds seem to collect, and dissolve upon the mountains. In winter the snows fall sooner, lie deeper, and continue longer on the mountains, than on any other part of the country. These phenomena denote a greater, and a more constant collection of vapours and clouds by the mountains, than takes place any where else; and it seems to be occasioned by the greater degree of cold, which prevails in those elevated situations.—The highest parts of our mountains generally abound with rocks, and are covered with large quantities of thick green moss; so extensive, compact, and thick, as to reach from one rock to another, and of so firm a contexture as to bear the weight of a man, without being broken. These immense beds of moss retain the moisture supplied by the clouds and rain: And while part of it runs down the sides of the mountains, part will be detained by the spongy surface, to penetrate and sink into the earth. On this account, and for want of a more rapid evaporation, several of our mountains are constantly wet on their tops, and have marshy spots, which are frequented by the aquatic birds. The roads over these mountains are frequently very wet and miry, when the valleys below are dry.—When the waters thus supplied by the clouds and rain, meet with any strata which prevent their

their descent, they collect in such quantities as to form a channel, and issue out at the sides of the mountain in the form of springs and rivulets. All those springs, which are *intermitting*, seem to be thus formed by the rains, or descending waters : And the more constant and regular the rains are, the more permanent and steady will these springs be : Such kinds of intermitting springs are to be found in great numbers, on the sides of all high mountains. They never fail to run while the rains continue in their usual quantities ; but when the rains cease, and a severe drought comes on, these springs are always found to fail.

In each of these ways, the mountains supply water for the springs and streams, out of which, the rivers are formed : And they are such as can never fail, while the present economy of nature shall subsist. But as the country becomes cultivated, some of the smaller streams must decrease ; and it is not improbable that when the woods shall be cut down, some of the lesser springs will wholly disappear.

C H A P. III.

RIVERS AND LAKES.—*The Situation, Channels, Intervals, Courses, Depths, and Effects of the Rivers. An Account of Lake Champlain, and Memphremagog.*

ALL the streams and rivers of Vermont, have their origin among the green mountains. About thirty five of them have an easterly direction, and fall into Connecticut river. About twenty five run westerly, and discharge themselves into Lake Champlain: Two or three, running in the same direction, fall into Hudson's river. In the northeasterly parts of the state, there are four or five streams which have a northerly direction, and run into the lake Memphremagog; from thence, through the river St. Francis, they are emptied into the river St. Lawrence.

The most considerable streams on the west side of the green mountains, are Ottercreek, Onion river, the river Lamoille, and Michiscoui.—Ottercreek rises in Bromley; runs northerly about ninety miles, and falls into Lake Champlain at Ferrisburg; and in its course receives about fifteen smaller streams. There are large falls in this river at Rutland, Pittsford, Middlebury, and Vergennes. Between these falls the current is very flow, the water is deep, and it is navigable for the largest boats. Vessels of any burden may come up to the falls at Vergennes, five miles from its mouth. The head of this river in
Bromley

Bromley, is not more than thirty feet from the head of Batton Kill, which runs in a contrary direction, and falls into Hudson's river.

Onion river was formerly called the French river, and by the Indians, Winooski. It rises in Cabot, about fourteen miles to the west of Connecticut river, and thirty miles to the east of the heights of the green mountains. A small southerly branch rises in Washington and Corinth, not more than ten miles from Connecticut river. From this southerly branch, Onion river runs northwesterly, about seventy five miles, and empties itself into Lake Champlain, between Burlington and Colchester. This river receives fourteen smaller streams, and is navigable for small vessels, five miles from its mouth. It has several falls, between which it is navigable for boats. At one of these falls in Waterbury, the channel of the river becomes very narrow, and passes between a high ledge of rocks on each side. A huge unshapely rock, in some ancient time, hath fallen from one of these ledges, in such a manner, that the whole river now runs under it. The rock forms a kind of natural bridge, but one that can never be of any use; as neither the shape of the rock, or the situation of the adjacent banks, will ever admit of a road either to, or over the rock. About six miles from its mouth, between Burlington and Colchester, the channel of this river is formed by a solid rock. The channel through the rock, by estimation, is fifteen rods in length, fifty feet wide, and seventy feet deep. Every appearance seems to denote that this channel was formed by the water, which in this place could not have had any other passage.—Onion river is one of the finest streams in Vermont. It runs through a most fertile country, the produce of which for several miles on each side of the river, is brought down to the lake at Burlington. It was along this river, that the Indians formerly travelled from Canada, when
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they made their attacks upon the frontier settlements on Connecticut river.

The river Lamoille proceeds from a pond in Glover. Its general course is westerly : After running about seventy five miles, and receiving fourteen lesser streams, it falls into Lake Champlain at Colchester, five miles north of the mouth of Onion river ; and is of the same magnitude as that.—The river Lamoille is a fine, smooth, and pleasant stream ; and runs through a rich, level, fertile, country.—The height of the land in the northeast part of the state, seems to be about Greenborough. About six miles to the southwest of the origin of the river Lamoille, is Scotland pond : From this proceeds Black river, which, for five or six miles runs in a direction opposite to, and nearly parallel, with that of the river Lamoille, and discharges itself into the lake Memphremagog.

Michiscoui is the Indian name of the most northerly river in the state. It has its source in Belvidere, and runs nearly northeast until it has crossed the north line of Vermont : After running to some distance in Canada, it turns west, and then southerly, and then reenters the state in Richford ; and falls into Lake Champlain at Michiscoui bay, in Highgate. This river is navigable for the largest boats to the falls at Swanton, seven miles from its mouth. Michiscoui, Lamoille, and Onion river, are nearly of the same magnitude.

On the east side of the green mountains, the rivers are not so large as those on the west, but they are more numerous. The largest of them are Wantastitquek or West river, White-river, and Poousoomfuck.—Wantastitquek has its main source in Bromley, about three miles southeast from the head of Ottercreek. Its course is to the southeast ; it receives seven or eight smaller streams ; and after running about thirty seven miles, falls into Connecticut river at Brattleborough.

borough. At its mouth this river is about fifteen rods wide, and ten or twelve feet deep.

The north branch of White river, rises in Kingston. The south branch has its source in Philadelphia. From Kingston, the general course of this river is southerly; its length about fifty miles; it receives six or seven lesser streams; and falls into Connecticut river at Hartford. White river abounds with falls and rapids; at its mouth it is about eighteen rods in width, but not more than ten feet in depth.

Pousoomsuck, rises from a pond in Westmore. Its course is southerly; it is made up of ten lesser streams; and after running about forty five miles, it joins Connecticut river in Barnet. It is there twelve rods wide, and eight feet deep.

Connecticut river, into which these streams fall, forms the eastern boundary of the state. The original Indian name, which it still bears, signifies the long river*. This river has its source in a ridge of mountains, which extend northeasterly to the gulph of St. Lawrence. The head of its northwestern branch, is about twenty five miles beyond the latitude of forty five degrees; and so far it has been surveyed. When it first enters the state, it is about ten rods wide; and in the course of sixty miles increases in its width to twenty four rods. Its course between Vermont and Newhampshire, a distance of two hundred miles, is southwesterly; from thence to its mouth, the course is more southerly. After running about four hundred miles through the country, and

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receiving

* The names which the original inhabitants assigned to our mountains, plains, and valleys, are mostly lost. Many of our rivers, bays, and falls of water, are yet known by their ancient Indian names. On account of their originality, antiquity, signification, singularity, and sound, these names ought to be carefully preserved. In every respect they are far preferable to the unmeaning application, and constant repetition of an improper English name.

receiving a great number of other streams and rivers, it discharges itself into the ocean at Seabrook.— With respect to its length, utility, and beauty, this is one of the finest rivers in the eastern states. In the months of April or May, it overflows its banks ; and for a length of three hundred miles, forms and fertilizes a vast tract of rich meadow. Vessels of eighty or one hundred tons, go up this river as far as Hartford in Connecticut, fifty miles from its mouth. It is navigable for boats, three hundred miles further, except the falls which the states of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, are now making navigable by locks. While it increases the richness, and serves to transport the produce, by its perpetual majestic movement through an immense tract of country, it is always adding beauty and grandeur to the prospect.

To this account of our rivers, some observations may be added respecting their operations and effects.— Their first operation seems to have been, to form for themselves, a channel. The highest waters descend along the mountains, until they meet with some obstacle to obstruct their motion. Whatever this obstacle may be, it operates as a dam, and serves to collect the waters into a small pond or lake. Two causes are constantly raising the waters, in such collections: The earth is perpetually brought down by the waters, to the bottom of such ponds; and the water is constantly rising by its own accumulation. When it is raised above the banks, the waters find their passage in the lowest part, and begin to form a channel there; and a channel thus formed, will constantly be made more and more deep, by the perpetual running of the water. A similar operation must take place through the whole course of the river, from its first rise and source, to its final discharge into the waters of the ocean. Their channels must at first have been formed by their waters; which
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were constantly accumulating; and struggling for a passage, approach, or discharge, into the nearest situation they could take to the center of the earth.

In this descent and passage to the ocean, all the large rivers in this part of America, have also formed large tracts of intervale lands. By intervalles we mean those low lands, which are adjacent to the rivers, and are frequently overflowed by them in the spring and fall, or whenever the waters are raised to their greatest height. These intervalles are level, and extensive plains; of the same altitude as the banks of the river; in width they often reach from a quarter of a mile, to a mile and an half, sometimes on one, and sometimes on both sides of the river. There are frequently two strata of the intervalles, the one four or five feet higher than the other; the highest of which is not overflowed, but when the waters are raised to an uncommon height; but they are level, and extensive like the other.—Both of them have many indications, that they were formed by the waters of the rivers. The soil is always of that rich mud and slime, which is brought down by the rivers in the spring. In digging into these lands, various appearances of decaying vegetables are frequently found. The strata formed at particular years, are easily distinguished; and the original and the new made soil are so different, as to be readily known. The limbs and trunks of large, and sound trees, are often found at various depths; sometimes so low as forty feet below the surface. The small islands in these intervalles, are of a different soil, and less rich; and are evidently the tops of small hills, which have not been covered by the inundations of the rivers. These long and level surfaces are peculiar to the banks of rivers, and consist of the same rich manure which are yet annually brought down, and deposited by the waters. The cause, by which they are now annually increased, could not fail to have produced

produced such effects, in the course of a long series of years.

In these intervalles there are several places, where another curious phenomenon occurs. The rivers have changed their courses, their ancient channels are left dry, and they have formed new ones. In the uncultivated parts of the country, where the operations of nature have not been altered or changed, the traveller finds many places where the rivers formerly rolled, which are now dry, and at a considerable distance, sometimes a mile or more from the present beds of those rivers. In some of these ancient channels, the waters must have run for a long number of ages; as they have worn the surface of the stones as smooth as those, which are to be found on the sea shores. In some places the former channels are left dry, abounding with smooth stones and rocks: In others, the channels are converted into ponds, or overgrown with bushes or trees. Appearances of this kind are common in all the mountainous parts of the country; and something of the same kind, is constantly taking place in most of our rivers. In all large streams, the channel is more or less affected every year: Strips of land, one or two rods in width, and of some miles in length, are often carried off in the spring; and additions are made to the banks in other places. The lands thus formed, in some places, in the course of a few years amount to several acres, and are of an uncommon richness and fertility; but they are always attended with an equal loss in some other part of the river.

The depth of the channels which our rivers have formed, depends upon a variety of circumstances: The nature of the soil, the declivity of the river, the situation of the adjacent banks, the quantity of water, &c. Their channels have been formed two ways, by the wearing away of the ground in some places, and by forming or raising the intervalle lands
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in others ; but most generally the channels of our rivers have been formed in both these ways. In large streams passing through the intervalles which they have formed, and moving with a gentle force, the depth of the channels appear to have a similitude, or at least a resemblance. The depth of the channels in such situations, in sundry places in Connecticut river, Ottercreek, and Onion river, is forty or fifty feet below that of the adjacent banks. But the alteration in the depth of these channels, is so gradual and slow, that it has scarcely been perceptible, since the first settlement of the country by the English.

It is not only in the channels and intervalles, which the rivers have formed, that their effects are to be seen ; but their operations are also visible, upon the stones and rocks. The stones which have been constantly washed by the streams are always found to be smooth and even ; and the rocks in many places, are not only become smooth and slippery, but they are much worn away by the constant running of the water.—There is another phenomenon extremely curious, derived from this cause ; in several rivers, there are holes or cavities, wrought into the solid body of large rocks, by the descent, or circular motion of the water. At Rockingham, there is a remarkable fall in Connecticut river, where the water passes over a bar of solid rock ; and which it must have been constantly passing over, ever since the river began to flow. In the rocks at these falls, there are several cavities, which appear to have been formed by the circular motion of small stones, constantly kept in action by the force of the descending waters. Some of these cavities are two or three feet in diameter, and from two to four feet in depth ; and probably they are yet increasing. Such phenomena are not uncommon wherever there are deep falls in our rivers. But the most singular appearances of
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this nature which I have ever seen, are at Cavendish, upon Black river, near the house of Salmon Dutton. Here, the channel of the river has been worn down, one hundred feet : And rocks of very large dimensions, have been undermined, and thrown down, one upon another. Holes are wrought into the rocks, of various dimensions, and forms : Some of them are cylindrical, from one to eight feet in diameter, and from one to fifteen feet in depth : Others are of a spherical form, from six to twenty feet diameter, worn almost perfectly smooth, into the solid body of a rock.

How long a period nature has been employed in carrying on these operations, we can scarcely hope to determine. All the circumstances relating to the channels of rivers, and the intervalles which they have formed, are such as denote periods of time very remote, and of the highest antiquity. It can scarcely be supposed that in the formation of the intervalles, the annual increase has amounted to the tenth part of an inch. At present, the freshets in the spring and fall, and throughout the year, do not annually deposit the one half of this quantity of earth, upon the intervalles. At no place in this state, is there any appearance that the surface of the intervalles has been raised an inch, in the period of ten years. But admitting such an increase, where the depth of the intervalles are fifty feet, the period necessary to produce such an effect, would be six thousand years. But in all such kinds of computation, the data which we assume, are not marked with sufficient certainty or precision, to leave us satisfied with the conclusion.—The effects of the rivers upon the solid rocks, seem to be more slow, regular, and uniform. There are situations in this, and in every part of America, where the water has been constantly flowing over a solid body of rock, ever since the channels of the rivers were first formed. If we knew from observation, how much such
rocks

rocks were worn away in one century, by the waters, we could form a pretty just conclusion how long the waters have been running in those places. If the philosophers of the present age will make accurate observations of the altitude and situations of such rocks, and put their observations upon record in the transactions of their philosophical societies, they will enable posterity to solve a problem, which we can hardly expect to determine in our day.

While the one half of our rivers pass off into the ocean to the south, through Connecticut river, the other half find their way to the ocean, at the north-east, through Lake Champlain and the river St. Lawrence.—Lake Champlain is the largest collection of waters in this part of the United States. Reckoning its length from Fairhaven to St. John's, a course nearly north, it will amount to about two hundred miles. Its width is from one to eighteen miles, being very different in different places; the mean width may be estimated at five miles. This will give one thousand square miles, or six hundred and forty thousand acres, as the area of its surface. Its depth is sufficient for the navigation of the largest vessels. It contains several islands; one of them, the Grand Isle, is twenty four miles long, and from two to four miles wide.

The waters which form this lake, are collected from a large tract of country. All the streams, which arise in more than one half of Vermont, flow into it. There are several, which also fall into its eastern side, from the province of Canada. It is probable the rivers which flow into the west side, are as large, numerous, and extensive, as those on the east. The waters therefore, from which Lake Champlain is formed, seem to be collected from a tract of country, of a larger extent, than the whole state of Vermont.

There are many marks and indications that the surface of this lake, was formerly thirty or forty feet higher

higher than it is now. The rocks in several places appear to be marked, and stained, with the former surface of the lake, many feet higher, than it has been, from its first discovery by Sir Samuel Champlain, in 1608. Fossil shells, the limbs and bodies of trees, are frequently found at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet in the earth ; this is the case not only along the shores, but in the low lands at the distance of two or three miles from them. The soil in many places near the shore, is evidently of the same facitious kind, as the intervalles formed by the rivers. These, and other circumstances, have left no doubt in the minds of the inhabitants along the lake shore, that the waters of it were formerly much higher, and spread to a much greater extent, than they now are.

The operations of nature with respect to the lake, must have been the same that they were in relation to the rivers. When the waters discharged by the streams, amounted to such a collection, as to rise above the shores of the lake, they would overflow at the lowest part. There, the channel would begin ; and being formed, it would become more and more deep, in the same manner as the channel of a river. The channel which this lake found, and formed, was to the northward ; into the river St. Lawrence ; and through that into the ocean. When this channel, by the constant running of the water, was worn down thirty or forty feet, the surface of the lake would naturally subside the same space.

At present there is but little alteration in the height of the waters, through the year. They generally rise from about the twentieth of April until the twentieth of June. Their rise is commonly from four to six feet, the greatest variation is not more than eight feet. The lake is early frozen round the shores, but it is not commonly wholly shut up with the ice, until
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the middle of January*. Between the 6th and the 15th of April, the ice generally goes off; and it is not uncommon for many square miles of it, to disappear in one day.

The north line of Vermont passes over the south part of the lake Memphremagog. This lake is about forty miles in length, and two or three miles wide. It lies chiefly in the province of Canada, and has a northerly direction. The river St. Francis forms a communication between the lake Memphremagog, and the river St. Lawrence. Round this lake, there is a rich soil, and a fine level country.

* When the ice is become of its greatest density and firmness, large and extensive cracks or openings will suddenly take place. These cracks in the ice, generally run in an oblique direction, from one cape to another, and often to the distance of ten or fifteen miles. Sometimes the ice will separate on each side, to the distance of five or six feet; at other times it will lap over, or more commonly be thrown up in ridges four or five feet high; and it is often broken into pieces of two or three feet diameter, all round the edges. These openings often prove dangerous to the traveller. They seem to be produced, by the occasional rise and fall of the waters, in the lake; which as they cannot remove, must operate to elevate and depress, and thus to bend and break, the extensive and solid body of ice, which must have assumed the spherical form, which the waters had when they were first frozen.

C. H. A. P. V. IV.

CLIMATE.—*An Account of the Temperature, Winds, Rain, Snow, and Weather. The Change of Climate which has attended the Cultivation of the Country.*

THE temperature of any particular place, depends chiefly upon the latitude, the cultivation of the country, the elevation of the place above the adjacent lands, and its proximity to the ocean. The latitude of Vermont is between $42^{\circ} 44'$ and 45° north; Much the largest part of the state has never been cultivated: A large part of the land, is a range of mountains, much higher than the adjacent parts of the country: And the state is from eighty to one hundred and sixty miles from the ocean.

The most common method of determining the mean degree of heat which prevails in any part of the earth, is by thermometrical observations. In the years 1789, 90, 91, I made a course of meteorological observations at Rutland, about the latitude of $43^{\circ} 30'$. The greatest height of Fahrenheit's thermometer during that period, was $93^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$, on July 13, 1791. The least height was 27 below 0, on December 19, 1790. These may be esteemed as *near the extremes* of heat and cold, in this climate. The *mean heat*, deduced from the whole number of observations, was $43^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$.

The temperature of the climate may also be determined by observations of the heat which prevails in deep wells and springs. The heat of the atmosphere,

The Temperature of the CLIMATE at sundry Places in North America, computed from thermometrical Observation.

Months.	South Carolina. Charleston. lat. 35° 45'	Mary- land. lat.	Virginia. William- burg. lat. 37° 16'	Pennsylva- nia. Philadel- phia. lat. 39° 56'	Massachu- setts. Cambrid. lat. 42° 23'	Vermont. Rutland. lat. 43° 30'	Canada. Quebec. lat. 46° 55'	Hudson's Bay. Prince of Wales Fort. lat. 59°
	5 years obs. 1738-42.	1 year obs. 1753 & 4.	5 years obs. 1772-7.	1 years obs. 1748 & 9.	5 year obs. 1784-8.	1 years obs. 1739.	1 years obs. 1743 & 4.	1 years obs. 1768 & 9.
	Mean Heat.	M. Heat.	M. Heat.	M. Heat.	M. Heat.	M. Heat.	M. Heat.	M. Heat.
January	51°	44°	41, 2	28°	22, 5	18°	10°	—25, 6
February	54	43	44, 2	37	23, 9	18, 5	10	—17, 5
March	59	48	51, 2	44	32, 9	32	22	—9, 2
April	70	53	59, 2	50	45, 1	41	40	21, 2
May	75	65	66, 7	62	54, 4	50	52	38, 0
June	79	70	74, 9	70	66, 1	64	67	50, 0
July	81	73	79, 7	72	69, 6	67, 5	69	56, 4
August	79	76	78, 6	70	69, 4	67, 5	67	53, 0
September	73	72	71, 9	72	60, 0	57	51	44, 0
October	62	60	63, 9	53	50, 1	44	44	28, 0
November	53	49	50, 6	39	40, 2	37	36	1, 7
December	51	40	45, 9	33	29, 4	30	20	—15, 5
M. of the Year.	66	60	60, 8	52, 9	47, 0	43, 6	42	18, 7
Least Heat.	18	10	6		—12	—21		—45
Greatest Heat.	101	93	98		93	92	86	85
Observer.	Living. Phil. Transf. Vol. 45. P. 341.	Brooke Phil. Tra. 1759. P. 58.	Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. P. 126.	Kalm's Travels. Vol. 2. P. 149.	Williams. Williams.	Williams. Gadner. Hist. Aca. Roy. Socie. 1745 p. 194	Wales. Phil. Transf. 1770. P. 137.	

The winds in Northamerica receive their general direction from the situation of the sea coasts, mountains, and rivers. These are very much from the southwest to northeast. The most prevalent of our winds, are either parallel with, or perpendicular to this course : Or rather, they are from the northeast, east, southwest, and northwest. More than one half of the winds which blow during the year, are from that quarter which lies between the southwest and northwest.—The west and northwest winds are dry, cooling, and elastic. These winds always begin at the sea coast. Those from the south and southwest are more warm, moist, and relaxing. The easterly winds seldom extend so far from the sea coast as Vermont. They not only lose their distressing chill and dampness, as they advance into the country, but they seldom reach so far as Connecticut river ; and they are unknown on the west side of the green mountains.—The winds seem to observe something like a regular course, during the day. At sunrise there generally seems to be a calm ; about seven or eight o'clock, the winds begin to rise, which at nine or ten becomes a fresh breeze ; and increases until one or two o'clock : From about three or four, the wind decreases until eight or nine in the evening ; when it again becomes calm, and continues thus through the night. This general routine seems to be observed more generally in the latter part of winter, and in the spring, than at other times of the year. But there are times in those seasons of the year, when the wind rages without much intermission for two or three days together.

A general table of their directions at different places upon the continent, will give the best views of their comparative courses.

The Direction of the WINDS at sundry Places in Northamerica, deduced from annual Observations.

Place.	Time.	N.	N. E.	E.	S. E.	S.	S. W.	W.	N. W.	No. of Obser.
Maryland,	1753 & 1754	9	59	71	72	53	45	8	207	524
Williamsburgh,	1772 to 1777	122	110	104	45	22	185	70	82	740
Philadelphia,	1748 & 1749	31	56	25	32	45	97	69	111	466
Cambridge,	1784 to 1788	61	127	111	36	86	271	177	226	1095
Rutland,	1789	153	13	16	76	272	182	125	258	1095
Quebec,	1743 & 1744	1	194	0	1	14	261	2	35	508
Hudson's Bay,	1768 & 1769	169	78	86	51	83	70	159	259	1055

The quantity of rain which falls at those places in Northamerica where meteorological observations have been made, has been found to be more than double to that which generally falls in the same latitude in Europe. We cannot well account for this, without supposing that the immense forests of America, supply a larger quantity of water for the formation of clouds, than the more cultivated countries of Europe. Many parts of America do however, suffer severely by drought : This is very seldom the case in Vermont. The lands are naturally moist, the mountains supply water for regular rains, and the heat of the sun is not so intense as suddenly to disperse the vapours, dry up the waters, or parch the land. These kinds of observations will be reduced to the smallest compass, and give the most complete comparative view, by exhibiting them in the form of a general Table.

The

The Quantity of RAIN which falls at sundry Places in Northamerica, in the Course of one Year, computed from annual Observations.

	Southcarolina. Charleston.	Virginia. Williamburg.	Massachusetts. Cambridge.	Vermont. Rutland.
	8 Years Ob. 1738—1745.	5 Years Ob. 1772—1777.	5 Years Ob. 1784—1788.	1 Years Ob. 1789.
Months.	Mean altitude in inches.	M. altitude in inches.	M. altitude in inches.	M. altitude in inches.
January	2,624	3,195	3,503	3,497
February	3,735	2,049	2,618	2,784
March	3,329	3,950	2,516	3,102
April	2,074	3,680	2,725	3,012
May	3,979	2,871	5,861	4,716
June	6,009	3,751	2,083	3,914
July	5,840	4,497	2,221	2,313
August	6,964	9,153	2,278	2,106
September	4,944	4,761	3,791	2,481
October	2,450	3,633	2,466	5,662
November	2,194	2,617	1,851	4,101
December	3,523	2,877	3,483	3,491
Total.	47,666	47,038	35,396	41,179
Greatest rain in 12 hours,	9,26		Greatest rain in one day,	
Greatest rain in 2 hours,	5,30		Oct. 22, 1785.	
June 28, 1750.			5,217	

During

During three months in the year, this part of America is covered with snow. On the mountains the snow is generally from two and an half to four and an half feet deep ; and does not go off until after the middle of April. In the lower grounds, the snow for the most part, is from one, to two and an half feet deep ; and remains until about the 20th of March.—The advantage derived to the earth from the quantity and duration of the snow, is every where apparent. As soon as it is melted on the mountains, the earth appears to be greatly fertilized : The spring comes on immediately ; and the vegetables of every kind are green, and flourishing. With a very little cultivation, the earth is prepared for the reception of the seed ; and the vegetation becomes extremely quick and rapid.

The effects being so apparent, a general opinion seems to have taken place, that the snow communicates to the earth some nitrous salts or enriching substance which tends to increase its fertility. In Feb. 1791, I melted as much snow as afforded six gallons of water. The snow was collected as it was falling : Being evaporated there remained eleven grains of calcarious earth, five grains of an oily substance, and two grains of saline matter. The fertilizing effect of snow, cannot therefore be derived from any nitrous salts, which it receives or contains when it is falling through the atmosphere. Suspecting it might acquire some saline mixtures by laying on the earth, Jan. 30, 1792, in an open field covered with grass, I collected as much of the snow which lay next to the earth, as produced six gallons of water. This snow spread over an area of sixteen square feet, and had lain upon the ground fifty nine days. Upon evaporating the water there was not more saline matter, or calcarious earth, than in the former experiment ; but a much larger quantity of oily substance. The oil was of a dark brown colour, not inflammable,

ble, and weighed four pennyweights and nine grains, troy weight. From the former experiment, it appears that the biggest part of this oily matter accrued to the snow after it had fallen upon the earth : And to this oily substance, is probably to be imputed that dirty or sooty appearance, which the snow is generally observed to have, after it has begun to thaw. If the snow which I removed contained the same quantity of oil as that which I examined, a considerable nutriment might be preserved to the earth from this cause. The depth of the snow was thirty inches : The depth of that quantity which I collected to melt, as nearly as I could determine, was three inches. This will give two ounces, three pennyweights and eighteen grains, as the quantity of mucilaginous matter, which would have descended upon sixteen square feet of the earth, from the quantity of snow that was then upon the ground.

While the snow thus prevents all waste from the surface of the earth, it performs another and more important office, that of preserving its internal heat. The internal parts of the earth through the territory of Vermont, are heated to about the forty fourth degree of Farenheit's thermometer. When the heat of the atmosphere is greater than this, a part of that heat will flow into the earth, and thus the heat of the earth will be increased. When the heat of the atmosphere is less than forty four degrees, the heat will flow out of the earth into the atmosphere, and in this way the internal parts of the earth will be losing their heat, or becoming colder. This is the case during the winter months ; or rather, from the middle of October, to the beginning of April. Hence the surface of the earth when exposed to the atmosphere, becomes frozen to a greater or less depth, according to the degree and duration of the cold. The snow tends very much to prevent this. By covering over the surface of the ground a considerable depth, the

the snow by its nature and colour, prevents the internal heat of the earth from flowing into the colder atmosphere, and the atmosphere from coming into contact with the earth. In this way while the earth is covered with a deep snow, its heat is preserved, and the surface, in the coldest weather, is kept warm. To ascertain to what degree the heat of the earth was affected, by the quantity of snow that lay upon it, on Jan. 14, 1791 (an extreme cold winter) I dug through the frozen surface in a plain open field, where the snow had been driven away by the wind, and found the ground was frozen to the depth of three feet and five inches. In the woods, where the snow was three feet deep, I found on the same day the heat of the earth, six inches below the surface, was thirty nine degrees. The surface of the earth had been frozen to this depth, before it was covered with snow. The frost was not only extracted, but the surface of the earth was heated seven degrees above the freezing point, in consequence of the snow with which it was covered.

This will help us to account for the beneficial effects, which are derived from the snow, in all cold climates. Different degrees of heat are necessary, for the preservation and growth of different vegetables. None of them grow, when they are frozen; and most of them will perish when the cold at their roots is very severe. A thick covering of snow prevents these effects. The earth is kept open, and the roots of the vegetables are preserved comparatively warm. The snow is continually melting at the surface of the earth: It moistens, and enriches the soil; keeps off the frost and wind, and prevents all evaporation from the surface of the earth. The earth thus prepared by heat and moisture, and a collection of all its effluvia, is in a fit state for that sudden and rapid vegetation, which takes place in all cold climates, immediately upon the melting of the snow.

The

The weather is generally fair, in the winter ; and often, with an hazy atmosphere. The snows are frequent, but they generally come in small quantities, and are over in one or two hours : They are not attended with high winds, or heavy storms ; but they come from all points of the compass, except the east ; very frequently from the west, and north-west. Hail is not uncommon in the winter, but rain is not frequent.—About the middle of March the spring commences. The winds and weather are then very unsettled until the beginning of April. In April and May the weather becomes mild and pleasant, attended with frequent showers.—In the summer months the weather is generally fair, clear and settled. The winds are mostly from the south, and southwest ; the heat in the middle of the day is often very uncomfortable, but the nights are almost ever cool and pleasant.—From the beginning of September, until the middle of October, we have commonly the most agreeable season, with moderate westerly winds, and a clear sky. The latter part of October and November, are generally cold, wet and uncomfortable ; attended with frequent rains, some snow and high winds.

Thunder and lightning are common in the months of May, June, July and August ; but seldom in the other months. The Aurora Borealis is the most common in the months of March, September and October ; but it is not unusual at other times of the year. Heavy and long storms of snow, or rain, are scarcely ever known : But sudden and violent whirlwinds or hurricanes sometimes arise, and do much damage in the fall ; but we seldom receive any injury from the hail.—Annual courses of meteorological observations properly reduced, will afford the most complete information of the weather, and meteors, in the different parts of Northamerica.

The

The State of the WEATHER at sundry Places in Northamerica, deduced from annual Observations.

Place.	Time.	Fair.	Clou- dy.	Rain.	Snow.	Hail.	Fog.	Thun- der.	Aur. Bor.	Hazy.	No. of Obser.
Maryland,	1753 & 1754	314	179	145	21	7	10	39	—	—	493
Philadelphia,	1748 & 1749	235	141	83	21	2	11	13	7	—	376
Cambridge,	1784 to 1788	564	531	71	25	4	16	22	22	—	1095
Rutland,	1789	452	643	89	41	7	37	15	21	—	1095
Quebec,	1743 & 1744	277	128	88	32	4	14	7	—	—	405
Hudson's Bay,	1768 & 1769	360	432	36	76	25	31	4	5	155	792

The above accounts are designed to exhibit a just view of our climate. But instead of remaining fixed and settled, the climate is perpetually changing and altering, in all its circumstances and affections : And this change instead of being so slow and gradual, as to be a matter of doubt, is so rapid and constant, that it is the subject of common observation and experience. It has been observed in every part of the United States ; but is most of all sensible and apparent in a new country, which is suddenly changing from a state of vast uncultivated wilderness, to that of numerous settlements, and extensive improvements.—When the settlers move into a new township, their first business is to cut down the trees, clear up the lands, and sow them with grain. The earth is no sooner laid open to the influence of the sun and winds, than the effects of cultivation begin to appear. The surface of the earth becomes more *warm* and *dry*. As the settlements increase, these effects become more general, and extensive : The cold decreases, the earth and air become more warm ; and the whole temperature of the climate, becomes more equal, uniform and moderate. At the same time the lands and roads become more dry and hard : The stagnant waters disappear, small streams and rivulets dry up, and the redundant waters are carried off. The number and quantity of the snows decrease ; the winds receive new directions, and the weather and seasons become much altered. These changes every where attend the cultivation of the country ; and have formed a remarkable change of climate in those states, which have been long settled.

In this change of climate, the first effect which is generally observed, is an alteration in the temperature. The cold of the winters decrease ; the rivers are not frozen so soon, so thick, or so long, as they formerly were ; and the effects of extreme cold, in every respect, appear to be diminished. A remark-

able change of this kind, has been observed in all the settled parts of Northamerica. The bays and rivers in Newengland, are not frozen so hard, or so long, as they were at the first settlement of the country.* At the first settlement of Philadelphia, the river Delaware was commonly covered with ice, about the middle of November, old style.† It is not now commonly covered with ice, until the first week in January. Similar observations have been made with regard to the ice in Hudson's river.‡ The baron *Labontau* gave this account of the river St. Lawrence, at Quebec, in 1690: "I put to sea the 20th of November, new style, the like of which was never seen in that place before. The ice had covered the river on the 13th and 14th of November, but was carried off by a sudden thaw."|| The river is not frozen over now until the latter end of December, or the beginning of January. The ancient people at Quebec, in 1749, informed Mr. Kalm, that the winters in Canada were formerly much colder, than they were then.§ Similar observations have been made in almost every part of Northamerica, where settlements and cultivation have taken place.

Although the general effect has been every where apparent, it is not an easy thing to ascertain the *degree*, to which the temperature has changed, in any particular place. When our ancestors first came into America, thermometers were not invented: And they have not left us any accurate meteorological remarks or observations, from which we can determine the exact degree of cold, which prevailed in their times. Upon looking over the most ancient writers of Newengland, the only account I have found,

* Newengland's Prospect, by W. Wood; wrote in 1633, p. 4.

† Kalm's Travels, Vol. I. p. 410.

‡ Smith's History of Newyork.

|| Voyages to Northamerica, p. 165.

§ Kalm's Travels, Vol. II. p. 382.

found, which will afford any distinct information upon this subject, is the following passage ; referring to years previous to 1633. " The extremity of this cold weather lasteth but for two months, or ten weeks, beginning in *December*, and breaking up the tenth day of *February* (21st new stile) which hath become a passage very remarkable, that for ten or a dozen years, the weather hath held himself to his day, unlocking his icy bays and rivers, which are never frozen again the same year, except there be some small frost until the middle of *March*."* The winter is less severe now in several respects : The extremity of the cold weather does not come on so soon by several weeks ; the bays at Boston, instead of being annually covered with ice, are but seldom frozen to this degree ; and they do not continue in this state a longer time than eight or ten days. In the year 1782, the harbour between Boston and Charlestown was frozen to such a degree, that horses and sleighs passed over the ice, for five or six days. This was the beginning of such an effect, as that which is mentioned in the ancient account. The ice became fixed and permanent on February 2 ; and continued in this state until February 10. During that time I found the lowest degree of Farenheit's thermometer to be -9° ; the greatest degree was 28° ; and the mean heat was 13° . It may be presumed therefore, that the freezing of the bays of which Wood speaks, could not have taken place, or continued, in a less degree of heat than this. This will give us 13 degrees of Farenheit's thermometer, as the mean heat which took place during eight or ten weeks of the winter, so far back as the year 1630. By the meteorological observations which I made in the University at Cambridge for seven years, from 1780 to 1788, I found the mean heat in the month of December was $29^{\circ} 4'$; in January it was $22^{\circ} 5'$;
and

* Wood's Prospect, p. 4.

and in February it was $23^{\circ} 9'$. These numbers express the present temperature of the winter at Boston. If this computation be admitted, the change of temperature in the winter, at Boston, from the year 1630 to the year 1788, must have been from ten to twelve degrees.

A permanent alteration in the temperature of the climate or atmosphere, supposes an alteration equally great and permanent, in the heat of the earth. Whether the heat of the earth is thus affected by cultivation, and what will be its effects, I endeavoured to ascertain in the following manner. On the 23d of May, 1789, I sunk a thermometer to the depth of ten inches below the surface of the earth. Upon repeated trials the quicksilver stood at fifty degrees: This was in a level open field, used for pasture or grazing, and fully exposed to the sun. The same experiment was then made in the woods, where the surface of the earth was covered with trees, and never had been cultivated. To ascertain the gradual increase of heat at each place, the observations were often repeated. The result was as follows.

Time.		Heat in the Pasture.	Heat in the Woods.	Differ- ence.
May	23	50 ⁰	46 ⁰	6 ⁰
	28	57	48	9
June	15	64	51	13
	27	62	51	11
July	16	62	51	11
	30	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{1}{2}$	10
August	15	68	58	10
	31	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	55	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
September	15	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	55	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
October	1	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	55	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	15	49	49	0
November	1	43	43	0
	16	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	0

The

The effect of cultivation with regard to the heat of the earth, so far as it can be collected from these experiments, appears to be this ; Exposing the land to the full force of the solar rays in this latitude, will produce an heat at the depth of ten inches below the surface, ten or eleven degrees greater than that which prevails in the uncultivated parts of the country ; and this effect continues while the solar rays are sufficient to increase the heat of the earth. This additional heat in the earth, will be sufficient to produce the same alteration in the temperature of the air ; for whatever degree of heat prevails in the earth, nearly the same will be communicated to the lower parts of the atmosphere. Thus the earth and the air, in the cultivated parts of the country, are heated in consequence of their cultivation, ten or eleven degrees more, than they were in their uncultivated state : It should seem from these observations that the effect, or the degree of heat produced by cultivation, is the same with the change of climate, that has taken place in the eastern part of Massachusetts.

Another remarkable effect which makes part of the change of climate, and always attends the cultivation of the country, is an alteration in the moisture or wetness of the earth. As the surface of the earth becomes more warm, it becomes more dry and hard, and the stagnant waters disappear. Alterations of this kind, have been common, and great, in all the ancient settlements in the United States. Many of the small streams and brooks are dried up : Mills, which at the first settlement of the country, were plentifully supplied with water from small rivers, have ceased to be useful. Miry places, and large swamps, are become among the richest of our arable lands.—In the new settlements, the change is effected in two or three years : Fields of corn and wheat are attended with the most rapid vegetation, and

and the greatest increase, in lands, where the waters five or six years ago, were stagnant, and in such quantities as to be spread over the largest part of the ground. One of the first effects of cultivation is the dispersion of these waters, and a change in the soil, from the appearance of a swamp, to that of a dry and fertile field.

There are two ways in which cultivation operates, to produce this effect. By the cutting down of the trees, the dispersion of a vast quantity of fluid, emitted by their evaporation, is prevented; and by laying the lands open to the influence of the sun and winds, the evaporation of the stagnant waters is greatly promoted.—The effect of the first, from experiments which will be related when the vegetable productions are considered, may be estimated at three thousand and eight hundred gallons of water thrown off from the trees on one acre, in the space of twelve hours, in hot weather. To ascertain the effect which might arise from the latter, on June 27th, 1789, a fair, calm, and hot day, I placed a china saucer on the ground in the woods, where it was covered from the solar rays by the trees, the leaves of which at the height of ten or twelve feet, were very thick. Another saucer in all respects similar to this, was placed on the ground in an open field adjoining, where it was fully exposed to the wind and sun. I poured into each of them equal quantities of water; at the end of three hours the evaporation from the latter, was to that from the former as six, eight to one.—With regard then to the moisture or wetness of the country, it appears that settlement and cultivation will be sufficient to prevent the discharge of three thousand and eight hundred gallons of water, over one acre of land, in twelve hours, during the hot weather; and at the time to effect the dispersion of six, eight times as much water from the surface of the earth, as would have been dispersed in its uncultivated

uncultivated state. If we may judge upon a matter which cannot be reduced to exact calculation, it should seem that the cause was here equal to the effect.

A change in the climate hath also been manifest in the apparent decrease of the snow, in all the ancient cultivated parts of the United States. Whether there has been any alteration in the annual quantity of rain in any part of America, we cannot determine, for want of meteorological observations; but a great decrease of snow has been observed in all the ancient settlements. At the first settlement of Newengland, the earth was generally covered with snow for more than three months in the year. It began to fall in large quantities by the first of December, and seldom went off until some time in March. This is yet the case in the inland and mountainous parts of the country. The snow covers them for three months, and is scarcely ever carried off by a thaw until the spring comes on. In those parts of the country which have been long settled and cultivated, the snows have been declining for many years. They are neither so frequent, deep, or of so long continuance, as they were formerly: And they are yet declining very fast in their number, quantity, and duration. This event is derived from the change of temperature, which has taken place in the atmosphere; and probably will keep pace exactly with it. There has also been an apparent alteration in the direction of the winds. The prevalence and extent of the westerly winds, seem to be abating: Or rather the easterly winds are certainly increasing in their frequency and extent. These winds are now very frequent in the spring, in all that part of the country, which lies within sixty or seventy miles of the sea coast. Half a century ago, the easterly winds seldom reached farther than thirty or forty miles from the sea shore. They have
now

now advanced as far as the mountains, which are generally eighty or an hundred miles from the ocean. As the country becomes settled and cleared, they are found to advance more and more, into the internal parts of the country.—It can hardly be doubted, but that this event is owing to the increasing cultivation of the country. As the woods are cut down, the earth and atmosphere become more heated than the ocean : The direction of the winds will of course be from the sea, towards the land. As the country becomes more settled and cleared, it is probable these winds will continue to advance further towards the west.

The same causes which produce a change in the heat of the earth, in its wetness, in the snow and winds, will produce as great a change in the weather and seasons. While the state of a country remains unaltered, the general course and appearance of nature will be the same, from one age to another. Summer and winter, spring and fall, the productions of the earth, the state of the air and weather, will be subject to but little annual alteration or change. But when the whole face and state of a country are changing, the weather and seasons will also change with them.—This is an event that has already taken place in the most ancient and cultivated parts of America. When our ancestors first came into New-england, the seasons and weather were uniform and regular. The winter set in about the beginning of December, old style, and continued until the middle of February. During that time the weather was generally fair, and cold, and without much change. Towards the end of February the winter generally broke up. When the spring came on, it came on at once ; without repeated and sudden changes from heat to cold, and from cold to heat. The summer was extremely hot and sultry, for a month or six weeks, but it was of a short duration. The autumn commenced

commenced about the beginning of September ; and the harvest of all kinds was gathered by the end of that month.—A very different state of things now takes place, in all that part of Newengland, which has been long settled. The seasons are much changed, and the weather is become more variable and uncertain. The winter is intermixed with great and sudden thaws, and is become much shorter. The changes of weather and temperature, are great and common in the spring ; and at that season there is generally an unfortunate fluctuation between heat and cold, greatly unfavourable to vegetation, and the fruits of the earth. The summers are become more moderate in respect to the extreme heat of a few weeks ; but they are of a much longer duration. The autumn commences, and ends, much later than formerly : The harvest is not finished until the first week of November ; and the severity of winter does not commonly take place, until the latter end of December. But the whole course of the weather is become more uncertain, variable and fluctuating than it was in the uncultivated state of the country.

It is in these particulars, the change that has taken place in the heat of the earth, in its wetness, in the snow, winds, weather and seasons, that the change of climate in Northamerica has principally appeared. That this change of climate is much connected with, and greatly accelerated by the cultivation of the country, cannot be doubted. But whether this cause is sufficient to account for all the phenomena, which have attended the change of climate in the various parts of the earth, seems to be uncertain.

C H A P. V.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—*Forest Trees, esculent and medicinal Vegetables. Remarks on the Magnitude, Number, Age, Evaporation, Emission of Air, Heat, and Effect of the Trees.*

WHEN the Europeans first took possession of Northamerica, it was one continued forest, the greatest upon the earth. The country was every where covered with woods, not planted by the hand of man ; but derived from, and ancient as the powers of nature. The great variety of plants and flowers, the immense numbers, dimensions, and kinds of trees, which spread over the hills, valleys, and mountains, presented to the eye, a most magnificent and boundless prospect. This is still the case with the uncultivated parts of the country.

Much the largest part of Vermont is yet in the state, in which nature placed it. Uncultivated by the hand of man, it presents to our view a vast tract of woods, abounding with trees, plants, and flowers, almost infinite in number, and of the most various species and kinds. It would be the employment of many years, to form a complete catalogue of them. I shall not attempt to enumerate any, but those which are the most common and useful.

FOREST

FOREST TREES.

The TREES which are the most large and common are the

- White pine. *Pinus strobus.*
 Yellow pine. *Pinus pinea.*
 Pitch pine. *Pinus taeda.*
 Larch. *Pinus larix.*
 Hemlock. *Pinus abies.*
 White spruce. } *Pinus canadensis.*
 Black spruce. }
 Fir. *Pinus balsamea.*
 White maple. *Acer negundo.*
 Red maple. *Acer rubrum.*
 Black maple. *Acer saccharinum.*
 White beech. } *Fagus sylvatica.*
 Red beech. }
 White ash. *Fraxinus excelsior.*
 Black ash. *Fraxinus americana.*
 White birch. *Betula alba.*
 Black birch. *Betula nigra.*
 Red or yellow birch. *Betula lenta.*
 Alder. *Betula alnus.*
 White elm. } *Ulmus americana.*
 Red elm. }
 Black oak. *Quercus nigra.*
 White oak. *Quercus alba.*
 Red oak. *Quercus rubra.*
 Chesnut oak. *Quercus prinus.*
 White hiccory, or Walnut. *Juglans alba.*
 Shagbark. *Juglans alba, cortice squamoso.*
 Butternut. *Juglans alba, cortice cathartica.*
 Chesnut. *Fagus castanea.*
 Buttonwood. *Plantanus occidentalis.*
 Basswood, or lime tree. *Tilia americana.*
 Hornbeam. *Carpinus betulus.*

Wild cherry, several species.

Sassafras. *Laurus sassafras*.

White cedar. *Thuja occidentalis*.

Red cedar. *Juniperus virginiana*.

White poplar, or Aspen. *Populus tremula*.

Black poplar, or Balsam. *Populus nigra*.

Red willow. *Salix*.

White willow. *Salix alba*.

Hackmatack.

ESCULENT.

The following are small trees, shrubs, or vines, valuable on account of their salubrious and pleasant fruit.

Red plumb.

Yellow plumb.

Thorn plumb.

Black cherry.

Red cherry.

Choke cherry.

Juniper. *Juniperus sabina*.

Hazlenut. *Corylus avellana*.

Black currant. *Ribes nigrum*.

Wild gooseberry. *Ribes glofularia*.

Whortleberry.

Bilberry.

Blueberry.

Chokeberry.

Partridgeberry. *Arbutus viridis*.

Pigeonberry. *Cissus*.

Barberry. *Berberis vulgaris*.

Mulberry. *Morus nigra*.

Black grape. *Vitis labrusca*.

Fox grape. *Vitis vulpina*.

Black raspberry. *Rubus idæus*.

Red raspberry. *Rubus canadensis*.

Upright blackberry. *Rubus fruticosus*.

Running

- Running blackberry. *Rubus moluccanus.*
 Brambleberry. *Rubus occidentalis.*
 Cranberry. }
 Bush cranberry. } *Vaccinium oxycoccos.*
 Strawberry. *Fragaria vesca.*
 Dewberry. *Rubus cæsius.*
 Cloudberry. *Rubus chamæmorus.*

These fruits are in great abundance in the uncultivated parts of the country ; but they seem to arrive to their highest perfection of numbers, magnitude, and richness, in the new fields and plantations. There are other vegetables which are also *esculent*, and valuable, chiefly on account of their *roots*, or *seeds*. Among these are the

- Artichoke. *Helianthus tuberosus.*
 Ground nut. *Glicine apios.*
 Long potatoe. }
 Red potatoe. } *Convolvulus batatas.*
 Wild leek.
 Wild onion.
 Wild oat. *Zizania aquatica.*
 Wild pea.
 Wild hop. *Humulus lupulus.*
 Indian cucumber. *Medeola.*

M E D I C I N A L.

Many of the vegetables which are indigenous to this part of America, are applied to medicinal purposes. Of this nature are the

- Bitter sweet. *Solanum.*
 Angelica. *Angelica sylvestris.*
 Black elder. *Sambucus nigra.*
 Red elder. *Viburnum opulus.*
 Sarsaparilla. *Aralia.*
 Pettymorrel. *Aralia nigra.*
 Solomon's seal. *Convallaria.*

Maiden

Maiden hair. *Adiantum pedatum.*
 Arsmart. *Polygonum sagittatum.*
 Wild rose. *Rosa sylvestris.*
 Golden thread. *Nigella.*
 Mallow. *Malva rotundifolia.*
 Marshmallow. *Althæa.*
 Lobelia, several species.
 Senna. *Cassia ligustrina.*
 Clivers. *Gallium spurium.*
 Blue flag. *Iris.*
 Sweet flag. *Acorus.*
 Skunk cabbage. *Arum americanum.*
 Garget. *Phytolacca decandra.*
 Blood root. *Sanguinaria.*
 Pond lily. *Nymphaea.*
 Elecampane. *Inula.*
 Black snake root. *Aëtea racemosa.*
 Seneca snake root. *Polygala senega.*
 Pleurisy root. *Asclepias decumbens.*
 Liquorish root.
 Dragon root. *Amur.*
 Ginseng. *Panax trifolium.*

Ginseng was formerly esteemed a plant indigenous only to China and Tartary. In 1720, it was discovered by the Jesuit *Lafitan*, in the forests of Canada; and in 1750, it was found in the western parts of Newengland. It grows in great plenty and perfection, in Vermont. The root has many virtues; but we do not find them to be so extraordinary, as the Chinese have represented. It was a valuable article in the commerce of Canada in the year 1752, and large quantities were purchased in this state but a few years ago; an injudicious method of collecting, curing, and packing it, has greatly injured its reputation; this, with the large quantities in which it was exported, have nearly destroyed the sale.

To this account of medicinal plants, it may not be improper to subjoin those, which in their natural state, are found to operate as *poisons*; the most of which, by proper preparations, become valuable medicines. Of these we have the

Thorn apple. *Datura stramonium*.
 Henbane. *Hyoscyamus niger*.
 Nightshade. *Solanum nigrum*.
 Ivy. *Hedera helix*.
 Creeping ivy. *Rhus radicans*.
 Swamp sumach. *Rhus toxicodendrum*.
 Baneberry. *Aëta spicata*.
 White hellebore. *Veratrum album*.

In addition to these, there is a great variety of plants and flowers, the names and virtues of which, are unknown. Some of our vegetables deserve a particular description, on account of their uncommon properties: Thus, the Bayberry (*myrica cerifera*) is distinguished by a fine perfume, and a delicate green wax. The Prickly Ash is valuable for its uncommon aromatic properties. The Witch Hazel (*hamamelis*) is endowed with the singular property of putting forth its blossoms, after the frost has destroyed its leaves. The Indian Hemp (*asclepias*) may be wrought into a fine, and strong thread. The Silk Grass another species of the *asclepias*, contains a fine soft down, which may be carded and spun into an excellent wick yarn. The berries of the common Sumach (*rhus*) are used to great advantage in medicinal applications, and in several kinds of dyes. It would be a very useful, but a laborious employment, for the botanists to give to the world an enumeration, and scientific description of our indigenous vegetables. The *Flora Americana*, would be the most valuable addition, that could be made to the works of the celebrated *Linnaeus*: But it cannot be completed without the united assistance of wealth, genius, time, and labour.

To

To this imperfect catalogue of our vegetables, I shall add some remarks on the magnitude, number, age, evaporation, emission of air, heat, and effect of the Trees.

MAGNITUDE.—The magnitude to which a tree will arrive, depends upon the nature of the tree, and of the soil. The following are the dimensions of such trees as are esteemed large ones of their kind, in this part of America. They do not denote the greatest, which nature has produced of their particular species,* but the greatest of those which are to be found in most of our towns.

<i>Trees.</i>	<i>Diameter.</i>		<i>Height.</i>
	Feet.	Inch.	Feet.
Pine,	6	0	247
Maple,	5	9	
Buttonwood,	5	6	
Elm,	5	0	
Hemlock,	4	9	
Oak,	4	0	
Basswood,	4	0	
Ash,	4	0	
Birch,	3	0	

From 100
200 feet.

NUMBER.—The number or thickness of the trees, seems to depend chiefly on the richness of the soil. In some parts of the country they are so thick, that it is with difficulty we can ride among them. In other places, they have resolved themselves into trees of large dimensions, which are generally at the distance of eight or ten feet from each other. On one acre, the number of the trees, is commonly from one hundred and fifty to six hundred and fifty; varying in their number, according to the richness of the soil, and the dimensions the trees have attained. Estimating a cord to be four feet in height, and width,

and

* A white pine was cut at Dunstable in Newhampshire, in 1735, the diameter of which was seven feet, eight inches.

and eight feet in length, the quantity of wood which is generally found on one acre, is from fifty to two hundred cords : Where the large pines abound, the quantity of wood is much larger than what is here stated ; but these trees are never measured as cord wood, but always applied to other purposes.

AGE.—There is a circumstance attending the growth of trees, which serves to denote their age, with great accuracy. The body of a tree does not increase by an universal expansion of all its internal parts, but by additional coats of new wood : And these are formed every year, by the sap which runs between the bark, and the old wood. When a tree is cut down, this process of nature becomes apparent in the number of parallel circles, or concentric rings, which spread from the centre to the circumference of the tree. In many observations made by others, and by myself, upon trees whose ages were known, the number of these circles was found to agree exactly with the age of the tree.—By this method of computation, I have always found the pine to be the most aged tree of our forest, several of which were between three hundred and fifty and four hundred years of age. The largest trees of other species, are generally between two and three hundred years. In the more advanced periods of vegetable life, this method of computation often fails : The decays of nature generally begin in the central, which are the most aged parts. From them, the mortification gradually extends to others ; and thus, the internal parts of the tree, die in the same order in which they were produced ; the progress of death, regularly and steadily following the same order and course, which had been observed in the progress of life. In this state of a tree, no computation can be made of its age : But it seems most probable, that the time of its natural increase and decrease, are nearly the same ; and that the natural period of vegetable

etable life, is double to that, which the tree has attained, when it first begins to decay at the heart.

EVAPORATION.—Besides the growth, there are other processes carried on by nature in vegetables, of which we have no suspicion, until their effects become apparent. This is the case with the evaporation which takes place from the woods, during the summer months. — Every tree, plant, and vegetable, is then pouring into the atmosphere, an amazing quantity of fluid.—On the 12th of June, 1789, I put the end of one of the limbs of a small maple tree, into a bottle containing about one pint. That part of the limb which was within the bottle, contained two leaves, and one or two buds. The mouth of the bottle was stopped up with beeswax, that no vapour might escape. In five or six minutes, the inside of the bottle was clouded, with a very fine vapour; and in about half an hour, small drops began to collect on the sides, and run down to the bottom. At the end of six hours, I weighed the water which had been collected in the bottle during that time, and found it amounted to sixteen grains, troy weight.—The tree on which this experiment was made, was eight inches and an half in diameter, and thirty feet in height. To make an estimate of the quantity of water, thrown off from this tree into the atmosphere, in a given portion of time, I endeavoured to ascertain the number of leaves which it contained. With this view (after I had made some other experiments) I had the tree cut down; and was at the pains to count the leaves, which it contained: The whole number amounted to twenty one thousand one hundred and ninety two: Admitting the evaporation to be the same from the other leaves of the tree, as it was from those on which the experiment was made, the quantity of water thrown off from this tree in the space of twelve hours, would be three hundred and thirty nine thousand and seventy two grains.

grains.—Upon examining the number and dimensions of the trees, which covered the ground where I made the experiment, I think it would be a moderate computation, to estimate them as equal both in magnitude and extent, on every square rod, to four such trees as that which I had examined. This will give six hundred and forty such trees, for the quantity of wood contained on one acre. This estimation is less than the quantity of wood, which is generally found upon one acre of land, in this part of America.—The weight of one pint of water, is one pound avoirdupoise, or seven thousand grains, troy weight ; and eight such pints make one gallon. Making the calculation upon these principles, it will be found that from one acre of land thus covered with trees, three thousand eight hundred and seventy five gallons of water are thrown off and dispersed in the atmosphere, in the space of twelve hours.

This computation, will not appear extravagant to those, who have seen the great quantity of juice, which naturally flows out of some of our trees, when they are tapped in the spring. A man much employed in making maple sugar, found that for twenty one days together, one of the maple trees which he tended, discharged seven gallons and an half each day. A large birch which was tapped in the spring, ran at the rate of five gallons an hour, when first tapped ; and during the season of the running of the sap, it discharged sixty barrels in one spring. The consequence of this waste of the juices, was the death of the tree, the ensuing summer. I have this account from the Hon. *Paul Brigham*, Esq; These accounts serve to show, what a quantity of fluid, is naturally contained in some of our trees ; and from a source so plentiful, a copious evaporation might naturally be expected.

EMISSION OF AIR.—Another curious operation, which nature carries on in vegetables, of the highest use,
but

but wholly invisible to us, is the emission of a large quantity of air. The trees, vegetables, and flowers, while they are discharging a large quantity of water into the atmosphere, and, at the same time emitting or throwing off a much larger quantity of air. On the 15th of June, 1789, I put the same part of the maple tree into a bottle, as I had done in the experiment of June 12th. The bottle, with the limb of the maple thus enclosed, was then filled up with water; and immersed in a large drinking glass, which had been filled before: In this situation the bottle was inverted, and fixed so as to have its mouth about three inches under the surface of the water, in the drinking glass.—In fifteen minutes, air bubbles began to appear around the leaves of the maple; and soon after to ascend to the upper part of the bottle, and collect into larger bubbles; which, as they increased, resolved themselves into one. At the end of six hours, I found the quantity of water which had been forced out of the bottle, by the air which was collected in it, amounted to sixty one grains. The quantity of *air* therefore, estimated by its bulk, which was emitted from the limb of the tree, was to the quantity of *water* thrown off from the same limb, as sixty one to sixteen. Making the calculation in the same manner as before, this will give fourteen thousand seven hundred and seventy four gallons, as the quantity of air, thrown off in twelve hours, from one acre of land, thus covered with trees.—The purity and salubrity of this air is as remarkable as the quantity of it. It has been found that an animal will live five times as long in this kind of air, as in common air of the best quality. The purity of the atmosphere, is constantly impaired by the respiration of animals, by combustion, the putrefaction of bodies, and by various other causes. In such ways, the air over large and populous cities, is so greatly and constantly corrupted, that it would
soon

soon become unwholesome and noxious to the inhabitants, if it was not removed, or purified. Nature has made abundant provision for this purpose, in the immense quantities of air, which new countries supply. The trees and vegetables perpetually produce it, in large quantities, and in the purest state; and the winds carry it from one country to another, where it is most wanted.

HEAT.—The principle by which these operations are carried on, and which seems to have the greatest effect in vegetation, is heat. Different vegetables require different degrees of heat, or different climates, to give them their greatest degree of increase, and perfection. All of them cease to grow, when their roots are in a state of congelation. As soon as the warmth of the spring comes on, the sap begins to ascend in their trunks, and branches: A fermentation takes place in all their juices, and the vegetation becomes more or less rapid, as the heat of the season advances. In Vermont, about the 10th of May, the maple, which is one of the most numerous and forward trees of the forest, begins to put forth its leaves. In one or two days after, the whole body of the woods, appear of a beautiful light green; and are constantly growing of a darker colour, for ten or fifteen days, when the darkest shades become fixed. During this period, the juices of the trees appear to be in a state of high fermentation, their internal heat increases, and the effects of their vegetation appear in an infinite variety of buds, leaves, and flowers. To ascertain the degrees of heat, in different trees, at different times of the year, and to mark their effects on the leaves, and fruits, the following experiments were made. With an auger, of one inch diameter, I bored an hole twelve inches long, into the body of the tree: In this hole, I enclosed a thermometer of Farenheit's scale, stopping the orifice with a cork, until the quicksilver had acquired the
degree

degree of heat, which prevailed in the internal part of the tree. The result of these experiments, is set down in the following Table.

Time 1789.	Heat in a Maple.	Heat in a Birch.	Heat in a Pine.	Heat in an Ash.	Remarks on the state of the Trees.
May } 26					Leaves of the Maple, about one sixth of their natural growth. The other trees just in their bud, without any leaves.
27	58	60	60	60	
28					
June 30	72	72	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	76	Leaves on each tree, fully grown.
July 30	70	67	69	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	No appearance of decay in the leaves.
Sept. 15	62	56	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	Leaves on the Maple, Birch, and Ash, begin to decay, and turn white.
Octob. 16	45	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	47	Leaves of the Maple turned yellow, and begin to fall. Leaves of the Birch turned white, and dead; and about one half of them fallen. Leaves of the Ash, all fallen. Leaves of the Pine, green through the year.
Nov. 16	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	No leaves on the Maple, Birch, or Ash. The heat of the trees become exactly the same with that of the earth, at the depth of ten inches below the surface.

From these observations it should seem, that the temperature or heat of trees, is not the same as that of the earth, or atmosphere; but is a heat, peculiar to this class of bodies. It is probably the same, in all trees of the same kind, in similar circumstances and situations. The degree and variations of it, seem to depend on the fermentation of the juices, and the state of vegetation. It is not improbable
the

the heat of the same kind of trees, may be different, in different latitudes : Whether this is the case or not, can be known only by observations, made in different countries.—This heat which prevails in trees, seems to be the great principle or agent, by which the two fluids of water and air, are separated from one another, and emitted from the trees. The quantity of water evaporated from the trees on one acre, in twelve hours, we have found to be three thousand eight hundred and seventy five gallons : That of air, fourteen thousand seven hundred and seventy four gallons. Before the evaporation, both these fluids seem to have existed together in a fixed state ; making a common mass, every where dispersed through the body, limbs, and leaves of the trees. When the heat of the internal parts of the trees, became from fifty eight to sixty degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, the buds were formed, the leaves put forth, and the one fluid, seems to have been separated, or formed into the two fluids, of water and air. It seems probable from this, that both these fluids had the same origin, that heat was the principle, or cause by which they were separated ; and that about fifty eight, is the degree of heat, which is necessary to begin the separation of the air from the water.

EFFECT.—The effect of this perpetual vegetation, growth, and decay of vegetables, is an extreme richness and fertility of soil. Neither destroyed or removed by the hand of man, the vegetable productions of the uncultivated parts of America, return to the earth by decay and death, and corrupt on the surface from which they grew. It is not only from the earth, but from the air and water, that trees and plants derive their nourishment, and increase : And where no waste has been occasioned by man or other animals, it is not impossible that the vegetables may return more to the earth, than they have taken
from

from it ; and instead of serving to impoverish, operate to render it more rich and fertile. Thus does the soil, in the uncultivated parts of the country, from age to age derive increase, richness, and fertility, from the life, growth, death, and corruption of her vegetables.—This effect has been so great in America, that when our lands are first cleared of the wood, we always find a black, soft, rich soil, of five or six inches depth ; wholly formed of decayed, or rotten leaves, plants, and trees. The extreme richness of this factitious soil, produces a luxuriance of vegetation, and an abundance of increase in the first crops, which exceeds any thing that can afterwards be procured, by all the improvements of agriculture.

POWERS OF VEGETABLE LIFE.—The power with which nature acts in the productions of vegetable life, in this part of America, may be deduced from such circumstances as have been mentioned : From the immense extent of our forests ; from the magnitude, number, and variety of our trees, and plants ; from their rapid increase, and duration ; and from the total want of sandy deserts, and barren places. These and other circumstances, denote an energy, a power in the vegetable life, which nature has never exceeded in the same climate, in any other part of the globe.

C H A P. VI.

NATIVE ANIMALS.—*An Account of the Quadrupeds ; with Observations on their Enumeration, Origin, Migration, Species, Magnitude, Disposition, and multiplying Power. The Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects.*

THE uncultivated state of America was favourable to the productions of animal life. A soil naturally rich and fertile, and powers of vegetation extremely vigorous, produced those immense forests, which spread over the continent. In these, a great variety and number of animals had their residence. Fed by the hand and productions of nature, unmolested but by a few and unarmed men, the productions of animal life every where appeared, in the various forms of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects ; and their increase and multiplication, became quick and rapid.

Q U A D R U P E D S.

OF that species of animals which are known by the name of quadrupeds, America contains nearly one half : Of these about thirty six, are found in Vermont. Our forests afford shelter and nourishment for the moose, bear, wolf, deer, fox, wild cat, racoon, porcupine, woodchuck, skunk, martin, hare,
L rabbit,

rabbit, weasel, ermine, squirrel, mole, and mouse. In our rivers, ponds, and lakes, the beaver, muskrat, mink, and otter, are to be found in large numbers.

The largest animal which is known in Vermont, is the MOOSE. It seems to be of the same species as the elk; and in its general form, it resembles the horse. His head is large, the neck short; with a thick, short, and upright mane. The eyes are small; the ears are a foot long, very broad, and thick; under the throat, there is a fleshy protuberance; the nostrils are large; the upper lip square, and hangs over the lower. His horns are palmated, and when fully grown are about four or five feet from the head to the extremity: There are several shoots or branches to each horn, which generally extend about six feet in width from each other. The horns weigh from thirty to fifty pounds, and are shed every year. The hoofs of the moose are cloven; his gait, is a long shambling trot; his course, very swift, and straight. When he runs, the rattling of his hoofs, is heard at a considerable distance; in miry places, his hoofs are spread several inches from one another; and it is with the greatest ease, that he leaps over the highest of our fences. The moose is generally of a grey, light brown, or mouse colour. The food of this animal is grass, shrubs, the boughs and bark of trees, especially the beech, which they seem to prefer above all others, and a species of maple which is called moose wood. In summer, they keep pretty much in families. In the winter, they herd together to the number of twenty or thirty, in a company: They prefer the coldest places; and when the snow is deep, they form a kind of yard, consisting of several acres, in which they constantly trample down the snow, that they may more easily range round their yard; and when they cannot come at the grass, they live on the twigs and bark of the trees. Their defence is
chiefly

chiefly with their fore feet, with which they strike with great force. The female is less than the male, and generally without horns. The rutting season is in autumn : The female generally brings forth two at a birth, in the month of April, which follow the dam a whole year. One of these animals in Vermont, was found by measure, to be seven feet high. The largest, are estimated by the hunters, to weigh thirteen or fourteen hundred pounds.

The BEAR is frequently to be met with in this part of America, and is always of a black colour. It is not an animal of the most fierce, and carnivorous disposition. There have been instances, in which children have been devoured by the bear ; but it is only when it is much irritated, or suffering with hunger, that it makes any attack upon the human race. At other times, it will destroy swine and young cattle, but has not been known to make any attack upon men ; but always aims to avoid their pursuit. The food of this animal is corn, sweet apples, acorns, and nuts. In the end of autumn, the bear is generally very fat, and chooses for the place of his retreat the hollow of a rotten tree, or some natural den, or cavern in the earth. In such a situation he uses no exercise, appears to be asleep, loses but little by respiration, and is always found without any provision ; and it is not until the warmth of the spring returns, that he leaves his retreat, or goes abroad in quest of food. This animal is valuable for its flesh, grease, and skin. The female generally bears two cubs a year. The bear arrives to a great magnitude in this part of the continent. The largest, of which the hunters give us any certain information, weighed four hundred and fifty six pounds.

One of the most common and noxious of all our animals, is the WOLF. In the form of his body, the wolf much resembles the dog. He has a long head, a pointed nose, sharp and erect ears, a short
and

and thick neck, with sharp and strong teeth. His eyes generally appear sparkling; and there is a mildness, and a fierceness, in his looks. The colour of the wolf in Vermont, is a dirty grey; with some tinges of yellow about his ears, and legs.—This animal is extremely fierce, sanguinary, and carnivorous. When a number of them associate, it is not for peace, but for war and destruction. The animal, at which they most of all aim, is the sheep. When they can find a flock of these, they seem to delight in slaughter; tearing their flesh, and sucking their blood, after they are fully satisfied with the fat of their tender parts. They attack the deer, foxes, rabbits, and are enemies to all other animals; and their attacks are generally attended with the most horrid howlings.—They generally flee before the face of the hunter; but when they have once tasted of human flesh, they become more fierce, and daring, and seem to be inflamed with greater fury. In such a state, there have been instances in Vermont, in which the wolves have ventured to make their attacks upon men; but they generally retire upon their approach. They are not often to be seen in the day, but in the night venture into our yards, and barns.—These animals are yet in great numbers, in this state; they destroy many of our sheep, in the night; and find a safe retreat in our woods, and mountains; but are gradually decreasing, as our settlements increase, and extend.—The wolf is a very prolific animal. The female is in season in the winter, but the male and the female never pair. The time of gestation, is about three months and an half; and the young whelps are found from the beginning of May, until the month of July. The hunters have sometimes found in their dens, a male, a female, and a litter of nine young whelps. One of the largest wolves in Vermont, weighed ninety two pounds. There is nothing valuable in these animals
but

but their skins, which afford a warm and a durable fur.

The DEER is one of our most common and valuable animals. In the spring he sheds his hair, and appears of a light red ; this colour gradually grows darker until autumn, when it becomes a pale, or cinereous brown ; and remains thus through the winter. His horns are slender, round, projecting forwards, and bent into a curve ; with branches or shoots on the interior side. These branches do not commence, until the deer is three years old ; from which period, a new one rises every year ; and by this circumstance, the hunters compute their age. These horns are cast every spring ; the new ones, in the course of a year, will grow two feet in length, and weigh from two to four pounds.—The amorous season with these animals, is in the month of September. From September to March, the bucks and does herd together ; early in the spring they separate, and the does secrete themselves in order to bring forth their young ; which generally happens in the month of April. The female generally bears two, and sometimes three, at a birth. The fawns are red, most beautifully spotted with white. They are easily tamed, and become as gentle and domestic as a calf.—The deer is an animal of great mildness, and activity. They are always in motion ; and leap over our highest fences, with the greatest ease. The largest of which I have a particular account, weighed three hundred and eight pounds. The deer are numerous in Vermont ; and on account of their flesh and skin, are of much value. The reindeer is not to be found in this part of the continent.—But there seems to be another species of the American deer, distinguished chiefly by its horns, and often by its colour. The horns of this deer are never extensive, broad, and branched, like those of the common deer : But they are round, thick, but little curved, and not
more

more than ten or twelve inches in length. This species is generally larger than the other: Several of them have large white spots, and some have been killed which were wholly white.

The Fox abounds much in this part of America. The form, disposition, and habits of this animal, are every where known. We have four kinds of foxes in Vermont.

The *Red Fox* bears upon a yellowish, or rather a straw colour. This is esteemed the common fox, and is the most frequently to be found. At its full growth in the fall, this animal weighs twenty pounds.

The *Grey Fox* resembles the other in form, and magnitude, and appears to differ from it only in colour, which is of a beautiful silver grey.

The *Cross Fox* resembles the other in form, and magnitude; but has a black streak, passing transversely from shoulder to shoulder; with another along the back, to the tail. The other parts of this animal are of a red, or more generally of a grey colour.

The *Black Fox* is the largest, and most valuable of all. The fur of this fox is the most fine, soft, and rich, of any. One of the largest of the black foxes, was found to weigh twenty three pounds.

The fox is a very voracious animal; devouring all kinds of poultry, birds, and animals, which they can overcome. Flesh, fruit, honey, and every part of the farmer's dairy are devoured by him with great avidity.—This animal is very prolific. The female is in season every year, in the winter; and generally produces in the month of April; the litter is generally from three to six.

The CATAMOUNT, seems to be the same animal, which the ancients called Lynx, and which is known in Siberia, by the name of Ounce. In the form of its body, it much resembles the common cat, but is of a much larger size. It is generally of a yellow grey

grey colour, bordering upon a red or sandy ; and is larger than our largest dogs.—This seems to be the most fierce and ravenous of any animal, which we have in Vermont. Some years ago, one of these animals was killed at Bennington. It took a large calf out of a pen, where the fence was four feet high, and carried it off upon its back. With this load, it ascended a ledge of rocks, where one of the leaps, was fifteen feet in height.—Two hunters found the cat upon an high tree. Discharging his musket, one of them wounded it in the leg. It descended with the greatest agility, and fury ; did not attack the men, but seized their dog by one of his ribs, broke it off in the middle, and instantly leaped up the tree again with astonishing swiftness, and dexterity. The other hunter shot him through the head, but his fury did not cease, but with the last remains of life.—These animals have been often seen in Vermont ; but they never were very numerous, or easily to be taken. Of their fecundity, I have no particular information. On account of their fierceness, activity, and carnivorous disposition, the hunters esteem them the most dangerous of any of our animals. The weight of one of them, was estimated by the hunter, at one hundred pounds. The length of his body was about six feet, that of the tail, three ; the circumference of the body was two feet and an half, and the legs were about thirteen inches long.

What is called the WILD CAT, is an animal, in most respects similar to our common cats ; but different in its disposition, and dimensions. It is much larger, stronger, and fiercer, than any of our domestic cats ; and seems to be of the same disposition, and colour, as the wolf. One of the largest of them was found by the hunter, to weigh fifty seven pounds.

The BLACK CAT does not appear to be distinguished from the former, in any other respect than

its colour. It is altogether black, and seldom grows to so large a size, as the former. It seems to be of a distinct species; is as fierce and ravenous as the other kind.—These animals are frequently found in the woods; very wild, extremely fierce in combat, of great activity and strength; but never can be tamed, or made to associate with our common cats. They are valuable only on account of their furs. The black cat was called by the Indians, the *Wool-Janeeg*: The largest of which I have any account, weighed twenty three pounds.

Another animal which does not greatly differ in appearance from a wild cat, has been called the *Wolverine*. The body of this animal is about two feet and an half in length. It has a short tail, and is of the same colour as the wolf.—This animal is of a very fierce, and carnivorous disposition. Concealing himself among the rocks and bushes, or taking a station upon the limb of a tree, he watches for the approach of prey. If the deer, or the moose comes within his reach, he darts upon their backs, fastens upon their neck, and with great dexterity opens their jugular vein with his teeth.—This animal is scarce, and not to be found but in the northern, and most uncultivated parts of the state. I have no account of its fecundity, magnitude, or other particulars.

The *RACCOON*, in its shape or general form, resembles the fox, but has a larger body, with thicker and shorter legs. The feet have five long and slender toes, armed with sharp claws. The males have generally a large whitish stripe, and the females a smaller one, which runs across the forehead. The tail is long, and round, with annular stripes in it. This animal dwells in the retired part of the woods, runs up the trees with great agility, and ventures to the extremes of the boughs. Its fur is thick, long, and soft; and of a dark grey colour. The weight of one of the largest in Vermont, was thirty two pounds.

pounds. It is often found in hollow trees, and its flesh is excellent food.

The PORCUPINE, or Hedgehog, is not uncommon in Vermont. What is singular and most distinguishing in this animal; are the quills with which he is armed. These quills are about four inches in length; and of the size of the quills of a pigeon. When the porcupine is attacked by an enemy, he places his head between his fore feet, and erects these quills all around, in the form of an hemisphere. He has no power to eject them from his body, or dart them against his enemy, as has been frequently said. But they are so loosely inserted in his flesh, and of such a particular construction, that they are easily extracted, and like a barbed dart stick fast, and work themselves into the flesh of any animal that touches their extremities; nor can they be easily withdrawn, without tearing the flesh, but by incision. On this account they prove extremely dangerous to the dog, or to any other animal that makes an attack upon the porcupine.—The colour of this animal, is grey: His motion is extremely slow. The female produces her young every year; the time of gestation is about forty days, and she generally brings forth three or four at a birth. One of the largest of these animals, weighed sixteen pounds: The flesh is said to be agreeable, and wholesome meat.

Another animal, which we frequently find in the fields, is the WOODCHUCK. This animal is about sixteen inches in length; its body is large, and round; its legs are short; and its fore feet are broad, and fitted for the purpose of burrowing into the earth.—The colour of the woodchuck is brown, his fat is extreme, the flesh is wholesome and palatable food, his fur is not very valuable. This animal resides in a hole which he digs in the ground, and feeds upon grass, corn, beans, and other vegetables. The female generally produces four or five at a birth. One

of the fattest which I have seen, weighed eleven pounds : I believe this was one of the largest size.

The SKUNK is one of the most extraordinary animals, of which we have any account. It seems to be of the same species with the polecat, but is of a less size, and differs from it in several respects.—Its hair is long, and shining, of a clouded or dirty white, intermixed with spots of black. Its tail is long, and bushy, like that of the fox. It lives chiefly in the woods, and hedges, but often burrows under barns and out houses. When undisturbed, this animal is without any ill scent, or disagreeable effluvia. Their natural evacuations are not more nauseous, than those of other animals. Whole nests of them will lie under the floor of a barn, and so long as they are undisturbed, no disagreeable odour will be perceived during the whole winter. Their flesh, when it is properly dressed, is sweet and nourishing.—When pursued or attacked, the skunk discovers its extraordinary powers, by a singular and most effectual method of defence. It emits a fluid of the most nauseous and intollerable scent, that has ever been known. So odious, subtle, and penetrating, is this ill scented matter, that there is no animal which can long endure it, or will venture to approach the skunk, when he is throwing it out. It infects the air to the distance of half a mile all around : And no method has been found, to extract the scent out of any object, on which the odious fluid has been thrown. Time and air, after a long period, affords the only complete remedy. By accurate dissection lately made by Dr. *Mitchell*, it has been found that this ill scented fluid, is entirely distinct from the urine. It is contained in two bags, situated in the posterior parts of the body ; and surrounded by the circular muscles in such a manner, that by their constriction, the fluid is forced out with great velocity and force. The
urinary

urinary organs are totally distinct from these bags.* The female produces a litter every year; and they generally amount to five or six in number. One of these animals weighed seven pounds and an half, but whether it was one of the largest size, I cannot determine.

The MARTIN is an animal, peculiar to cold climates. It is found in large numbers in Vermont, but chiefly in the most retired, and thickest parts of the woods. Its colour is a dark brown, with tinges of yellow; sometimes the colour approaches to a black: The fur is fine, soft, and much esteemed.— This animal is from eighteen to twenty inches in length. A large one was found to weigh five pounds and one quarter of a pound. The female produces from three to six young ones, at a litter. The martin and sable denote the same animal in Vermont.

The HARE is about eighteen inches in length: It is always of a white colour, and has a fine, and beautiful fur: Its flesh is a very nourishing, and delicious food. This animal is very prolific. The time of gestation is about thirty days: The female bears three or four at a birth, and has several litters in the course of a year. A large hare weighs eight pounds. The hunters find large numbers of these animals, in this part of the country.

The RABBIT is something less than the hare, but in greater numbers. His colour, both in summer and winter, is a light grey, or a dirty white. The length of the rabbit, is about sixteen or seventeen inches; one of the largest of them, weighed seven pounds. The rabbit is more prolific than the hare. The female bears sooner, and has from four to eight, at a litter. These animals are readily found, in every part of the state.

The WEASEL has the form and appearance, of a squirrel; but is more slim, and active. His eyes
have

* American Museum, Vol. V. p. 487.

have an uncommon sprightliness ; his look is keen, and piercing ; and his motions are so quick, and various, that the eye can scarcely follow them. This animal is of a red or brown colour, and has a white belly. Its fur is very fine, and soft. His food is corn, nuts, eggs, and all kinds of small animals. The weasel is often found in hollow trees, and he frequently enters into houses, barns, and other buildings, in search of grain, chickens, mice, and young animals. In Vermont, the weasel is about twelve inches in length ; very narrow and slim, and weighs about twelve ounces. The female bears three, four, or five, at a birth ; but they do not appear to be very numerous.

The *ERMINE* is the most beautiful quadruped, which is seen in our woods. In its form, dimensions, activity, and fecundity, it resembles the weasel, but is rather larger ; one of them weighed fourteen ounces. Its colour is a beautiful white : The tail is tipped with a beautiful black. Some of these animals have a stripe of dark brown, or mouse colour, extending along the back, from the head to the tail ; the other parts being perfectly white. This little, brisk, light, and beautiful animal, has the most fine and delicate fur, that can be imagined ; and the animal itself is one of the greatest beauties of nature.

Of the *SQUIRREL* we have four or five species ; grey, black, red, striped, and flying.

The *Grey Squirrel* is the largest, and most common. This squirrel is about thirteen or fourteen inches in length, with a large bushy tail, as long as the body. It is of a beautiful silver grey colour, and has a fine soft fur. Its nest is in the crotch, or hollow of a tree ; its food, corn, acorns, and nuts. It lays up a store of these provisions against winter, in the hollow of old trees. The female bears her young in the spring, and has generally three or four at a birth.

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The largest of these grey squirrels, when they are fully fattened in the fall, weigh three pounds and an half.

The *Black Squirrel* resembles the former in every respect, but its colour, and size. It is wholly black, without any change in its colour, at any time of the year. Its size is something less than that of the grey squirrel: The largest I have known, weighed but two pounds and an half.

The *Red Squirrel* does not appear to differ from the black, in any other particular, but the colour.

The *Striped Squirrel* is smaller than either of the other. The largest of these does not weigh more than nine or ten ounces. This squirrel digs a hole in the ground, for the place of his residence. He provides a store of nuts, acorns, and corn, against winter. These are carefully deposited in his nest; and he resides in the earth, during the severity of the season.

The *Flying Squirrel* is the most curious, and beautiful of all; and of the same size as the striped one: This squirrel has a kind of wings, by which he will pass from one tree to another, at the distance of thirty or forty feet. None of our animals have a more fine or delicate fur, than this little squirrel. He feeds on the buds, and seeds of vegetables; and generally has his nest in decayed, and rotten trees.

The MOLE, SHREW MOUSE, GROUND MOUSE, and FIELD MOUSE, are to be found in this part of America: They are so small, and well known, that they do not require a particular description. The hunters inform me, that there are several kinds of mice to be found in the woods, which have not been described: But neither the grey rat, the black rat, or the water rat, is to be found in any part of the state.

The quadrupeds which have been described, are to be found only upon the land. There are others
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of an *amphibious* nature, which live upon the land, or in the water ; these are to be found in the rivers, ponds, and lakes.

One of the most sagacious and useful of these, is the BEAVER. On account of his natural constitution and instincts, his social nature, the works he performs, and the uses to which he is applied, the beaver is the most extraordinary of all our animals, and deserves a more particular description.

The American beaver is between three and four feet in length, and weighs from forty to sixty pounds. His head is like that of a rat, inclined to the earth ; his back rises in an arch between his head and tail. His teeth are long, broad, strong, and sharp. Four of these, two in the upper, and two in the under jaw, are called *incisors*. These teeth project one or two inches beyond the jaw, and are sharp, and curved, like a carpenter's gouge. In his fore feet the toes are separate, as if designed to answer the purposes of fingers and hands : His hind feet are accommodated with webs, suited to the purpose of swimming. His tail is a foot long, an inch thick, and five or six inches broad : It is covered with scales, and with a skin similar to that of fish.

In no animal does the *social instinct and habit* appear more strong, or universal, than in the beaver. Wheresoever a number of these animals are found, they immediately associate, and combine in society, to pursue their common business, and welfare. Every thing is done, by the united counsels, and labours, of the whole community. Their societies are generally collected together, in the months of June and July ; and their numbers when thus collected, frequently amount to two or three hundred ; all of which, immediately engage in a joint effort, to promote the common business and safety of the whole society ; apparently acting under a common inclination, and direction. When the beaver is found
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in a solitary state, he appears to be a timid, inactive, and stupid animal. Instead of attempting any important enterprize, he contents himself with digging a hole in the earth for safety and concealment. His genius seems to be depressed, his spirits broken, and every thing enterprizing is lost in an attention to personal safety ; but he never looses his natural instinct to find or form a pond.* When combined in society, his disposition, and powers assume their natural direction, and are exerted to the highest advantage : Every thing is then undertaken, which the beaver is capable of performing.

The society of beavers seems to be *regulated and governed*, altogether by natural dispositions, and laws. Their society, in all its pursuits and operations, appears to be a society of peace and mutual affection ; guided by one principle, and under the same direction. No contention, disagreement, contrary interests, or pursuits, are ever seen among them ; but perfect harmony and agreement, prevails through their whole dominions. The principle of this union and regulation, is not the superiour strength, art, or activity of any individual : Nothing has the appearance, among them, of the authority, or influence of a chief, or leader. Their association, and management, has the aspect of a pure and perfect democracy ; founded on the principle of perfect equality, and the strongest mutual attachment. This principle seems to be sufficient to preserve the most perfect harmony, and to regulate all the proceedings of their largest societies.

When these animals are collected together, their first attention is to *the public business and affairs* of the society, to which they belong. The beavers are
amphibious

* A young beaver was tamed in the southern part of this state. He became quiet, inoffensive, and without any disposition to depart. But was most of all pleased, when he was at work, forming a dam, in a small stream near the house.

amphibious animals, and must spend one part of their time in the water, and another upon the land. In conformity to this law of their natures, their first employment is to find a situation, convenient for both these purposes. With this view a lake, a pond, or a running stream of water, is chosen for the scene of their habitation, and future operations. If it be a lake, or a pond that is selected, the water is always of such depth, that the beavers may have sufficient room to swim under the ice; and one, of which they can have an entire, and undisturbed possession. If a stream of water is chosen, it is always such a stream, as will form a pond, that shall be every way convenient for their purpose. And such is their foresight and comprehension of these circumstances, that they never form an erroneous judgment, or fix upon a situation that will not answer their designs and convenience.—Their next business, is to construct a dam. This is always chosen, in the most convenient part of the stream; and the form of it, is either direct, circular, or with angles, as the situation and circumstances of the water and land, require. And so well chosen is both the place, and the form of these dams, that no engineer could give them a better situation and form, either for convenience, strength, or duration.—The materials of which the dams are constructed, are wood, and earth. If there be a tree on the side of the river, which would naturally fall across the stream, several of the beavers set themselves with great diligence, to cut it down with their teeth. Trees to the bigness of twenty inches diameter, are thus thrown across a stream. They next, gnaw off the branches from the trunk, that the tree may assume a level position. Others, at the same time, are cutting down smaller trees, and saplings, from one to ten inches diameter. These are cut into equal and convenient lengths. Some of the beavers drag these pieces of wood to
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the side of the river, and others swim with them to the place, where the dam is to be built. As many as can find room, are engaged in sinking one end of these stakes; and as many more in raising, fixing, and securing the other end. While many of the beavers are thus labouring upon the wood, others are equally engaged in carrying on the earthen part of the work. The earth is brought in their mouths, formed into a kind of mortar with their feet and tails, and spread over the vacancies between the stakes. Saplings, and the small branches of trees, are twisted and worked up with the mud and slime, until all the vacancies are filled up; and no crevice is left in any part of the work, for the water to find a passage through.—The magnitude and extent of the dams, which the beavers thus construct, is much larger than we should imagine was possible to be effected, by such labourers, or instruments. At the bottom, the dam is from six to twelve feet thick; at the top, it is generally two or three feet in width. In that part of the dam, which is opposed to the current, the stakes are placed obliquely; but on that side where the water is to fall, the stakes are placed in a perpendicular direction; and the dam assumes the same form, and position, as the stakes. The extent of these works, is from fifty to an hundred feet in length; and always of such an height, as to effect the purposes they have in view. The ponds which are formed by these dams, are of all dimensions; from four or five, to five or six hundred acres. They are generally spread over lands abounding with trees, and bushes, of the softest wood: Maple, birch, alder, poplar, willow, &c.—The better to preserve their dams, the beavers always leave sluices, or passages near the middle, for the redundant waters to pass off. These sluices are generally about eighteen inches in width, and depth; and as

many

many in number, as the waters of the stream generally require. When the public works are completed, their *domestic concerns and affairs* next engage their attention. The dam is no sooner completed, than the beavers separate into small bodies, to build cabins, or houses for themselves. These houses are built upon piles, along the borders of the pond. They are of an oval form, resembling the construction of an haycock; and they vary in their dimensions, from four to ten feet in diameter, according to the number of families they are designed to accomodate. They are always of two stories, generally of three, and sometimes they contain four. Their walls are from two to three feet in thickness, at the bottom; and are formed of the same materials as their dams. They rise perpendicularly a few feet, then assume a curved form, and terminate in a dome or vault, which answers the purpose of a roof. These edifices are built with much solidity, and neatness. On the inward side, they are smooth, but rough on the outside; always impenetrable to the rain, and of sufficient strength to resist the most impetuous winds. The lower story is about two feet high: The second story has a floor of sticks, covered with mud: The third story is divided from the second, in the same manner, and terminated by the roof raised in the form of an arch. Through each floor, there is a communication; and the upper floor is always above the level of the water, when it is raised to its greatest height. Each of these huts have two doors; one, on the land side, to enable them to go out and procure provisions by land; another under the water, and below where it freezes, to preserve their communication with the pond. If this, at any time begins to be covered with ice, the ice is immediately broken, that the communication may not be cut off with the air.

In these huts, the *families* of the beavers have their residence. The smallest of their cabins, contain one family, consisting generally of five or six beavers; and the largest of the buildings, will contain from twenty to thirty. No society of animals, can ever appear better regulated, or more happy, than the family of beavers. The male and the female, always pair. Their selection is not a matter of chance, or accident; but appears to be derived from taste, and mutual affection. In September, the happy couple lay up their store of provisions, for winter. This consists of bark, the tender twigs of trees, and various kinds of soft wood. When their provisions are prepared, the season of love and repose commences: And during the winter they remain in their cabins, enjoying the fruits of their labours, and partaking in the sweets of domestic happiness. Towards the end of winter, the females bring forth their young, to the number of three or four. Soon after, the male retires to gather fish, and vegetables, as the spring opens; but the mother remains at home, to nurse, and rear up the offspring, until they are able to follow their dams. The male occasionally returns, but not to tarry, until the fall of the year. But if any injury is done to their public works, the whole society are soon collected, and join all their forces to repair the injury, which affects their commonwealth.

Nothing can exceed *the peace and regularity*, which prevails in the families, and through the whole commonwealth of these animals. No discord or contention ever appears in any of their families. Every beaver knows his own apartment, and store house; and there is no pilfering or robbing from one another. The male and the female are mutually attached to, never prove unfriendly, or desert one another. Their provisions are collected, and expended, without any dissention. Each knows its own family,

ily, business, and property; and they are never seen to injure, oppose, or interfere with one another.—The same order and tranquillity prevail, through the commonwealth. Different societies of beavers, never make war upon one another, or upon any other animals. When they are attacked by their enemies, they instantly plunge into the water, to escape their pursuit: And when they cannot escape, they fall an easy sacrifice.

In the *arts* necessary for their safety, the beavers rise to great eminence. The situation, direction, form, solidity, beauty, and durability of their dams, are equal to any thing of the kind, which has ever been performed by man. They always form a right judgment, which way the tree will fall: And when it is nearly cut down, they appoint one of their number, to give notice by a stroke of his tail, when it begins to fall. With their tails, they measure the lengths of their dams, of the stakes they are to use, of a breach that is made in their works, and of the length of the timber that is necessary to repair it. When an enemy approaches their dominions, the beaver which makes the discovery, by striking on the water with his tail, gives notice to the whole village of the approaching danger; and all of them instantly plunge into the water. And when the hunters are passing through their country, some of their number appear to be centinels, to give notice of their approach.

The colour of the beaver is different, according to the different climates, which they inhabit. In the most northern parts, they are generally black; in Vermont they are brown, and their colour becomes lighter as we approach towards the south.—Their fur is of two sorts, all over their bodies. That which is longest, is generally about an inch long, but on the back, it sometimes extends to two inches, gradually shortening towards the head, and tail. This

part

part is coarse, and of little use. The other part of the fur, consists of a very fine, and thick down; of about three quarters of an inch long, so soft that it feels like silk, and is that, which is used in manufactories.—Castor, of so much use in medicine, is produced from the body of the beaver. It is contained in four bags, in the lower belly.

The largest of these animals, of which I have any certain information, weighed sixty three pounds and an half: But it is only in a situation remote from, and undisturbed by the frequent appearances of men, that they attain their greatest magnitude, or their highest perfection of society. The beaver has deserted all the southern parts of Vermont, and is now to be found only in the most northern, and uncultivated parts of the state.

The MUSKRAT seems to be a smaller kind of beaver, resembling it in every thing but its tail. This is also an amphibious animal, and forms a cabin of sticks and mud, in some stagnant water; but is less fearful of the approaches of men, and affords a very strong musk. These animals are to be found, in very considerable numbers, in our creeks, and lakes; but are much less numerous, than they were formerly. The muskrat, in this part of America, is about fifteen inches in length; the greatest magnitude I have known is five pounds and three quarters of a pound. A litter of these muskrats, will frequently amount to four, five, and sometimes six.

Another of our amphibious animals, is the MINK. It always resides in the neighbourhood of rivers, ponds, or lakes; and provides a place of residence, by burrowing into the earth.—The mink is about twenty inches in length; his legs are short, his colour brown, and his fur is more valuable than that of the muskrat. One of the largest which I have known, weighed four pounds and one quarter of a pound. The female produces two or three, at a birth.

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The OTTER is a voracious animal, of great activity and fierceness. When it is fully grown, it is five or six feet long; with sharp and strong teeth; short legs, and membranes in all his feet; and fitted either for running, or swimming.—The otter explores the rivers and ponds in search of fish, frogs, water rats, and other small animals; And when these are not to be had, he lives on the boughs and bark of young, or aquatic trees. He has generally been ranked among the amphibious animals, which can live either in the air, or water; but he is not properly an amphibious animal, for he cannot live without respiration, any more than the land animals. The female is in heat in the winter, and bears her young in the month of March; the litter generally consists of three or four. The fierceness and strength of the old otters, is such, that the dog can seldom overcome them: And when they cannot escape, they will attack the hunter with great rage.—The colour of this animal is black, and its fur is much esteemed. The otter formerly abounded very much in our creeks, and rivers; and especially in those, which emptied themselves into Lake Champlain: On this account, one of them still bears the name of *Otter-creek*; but the animal is now become scarce. The largest otter, of which I have a particular account, weighed twenty nine pounds and an half.

To this account of the quadrupeds of Vermont, I shall subjoin some reflections on the general state of these animals, in America.

The enumeration very imperfect.—Our accounts of the quadrupeds in this, and in every part of America, must be viewed as greatly imperfect. The descendants of Europe have settled along the sea coasts, and they have penetrated to the lakes, and most of the navigable rivers. But the internal parts of South-america, are but little known: And all that immense tract of country, which lies to the north, and to the west.

west of the lakes, is wholly unexplored. It is not to be doubted, but these extensive regions, abound with quadrupeds: Of what species, and how numerous, we cannot so much as conjecture. When the country shall be fully explored, and when all naturalists shall have visited and examined the internal parts, the history of the animals of America, may be brought to some perfection; but it is far from it, at present. All the animals which have been enumerated, are only those which are frequently found, in a small part of the continent.—That an animal of great, and uncommon magnitude, has existed in Northamerica, and in Siberia, is certain from the bones of the animal which yet remain. On the banks of the Ohio, and in many places further north, tusks, grinders, and skeletons, of an enormous size, are to be found in great numbers. Some of them lie upon the surface of the ground, and others are five or six feet below it. Some of the tusks are near seven feet long, one foot and nine inches at the base, and one foot near the point; the cavity at the base, nineteen inches deep. From the size and thickness of these bones, it is certain that they could not belong to the elephant; but denote an animal five or six times as large, and of the carnivorous kind.—We have the testimony of the Indians that such an animal still exists in the western parts of America: And it would be contrary to the whole economy of nature, to suppose that any species of her animals, is become extinct. This animal must formerly have been numerous, at those places, where their bones are found in such numbers. The probability is, as the means of subsistence were destroyed, they removed further to the westward. But until those parts of America shall be explored, little information is to be expected concerning this animal of the most enormous bulk: And we may as well call it the *Mammoth*, as by any other name; or the *Pseudo Elephant*, as it

has

has been named by Dr. Hunter.—From this, and from many other considerations, it appears that the enumeration of the American quadrupeds, is extremely imperfect.

ORIGIN.—The animals which are spread over the face of the earth, are fitted by nature, for the climate and country, where they reside. No animal, or vegetable, has a constitution adapted to every country: And there are none, but what are suited to some particular part of the earth, where they will arrive to their greatest perfection. A camel is peculiarly fitted, for the burning sands of Arabia: And the reindeer will flourish the best in Lapland, Hudson's Bay, and those northern countries, where the cold is the most intense. The origin therefore of different quadrupeds, is to be sought in those climates, that appear to be the best adapted to their growth and multiplication.—There are animals in the torrid zone in America, which are never found in any other part of the earth. This is the case with the *Tapyr* of Brasil, the *Puma* and *Jugar*, the *Lama*, and *Paco*. These animals have never wandered into any other part of the globe: They are therefore to be esteemed indigenous, or natural to the hot climates of America. The same is the case with the animals of the torrid zone in Asia, and Africa. The elephant, and rhinoceros, are productions of Asia. The deserts of Laaza and Biledulgerid in Africa, may be termed the native country of lions, tygers, and panthers. No part of the climate of America is so intensely hot, or sandy, as to render it the proper country for the production or increase of animals, so fierce and noxious. These quadrupeds of hot climates, have never wandered from the one country, to the other: Not because they could not find a passage, but because they must have passed through a climate, the cold of which, being such as they could not endure, was an effectual bar to their passage.—

There

There are other quadrupeds which are common to America, to the north of Asia, and to Europe. Of this kind are the buffalo, white bear, carabou, black bear, elk, moose, red deer, fallow deer, wolf, roe, glutton, lynx, wild cat, beaver, badger, red fox, grey fox, black fox, otter, monax, vison, porcupine, martin, water rat, weasel, ermine, flying squirrel, mole, and mouse. If we add the unknown animal, which we have called the mammoth, the number of those quadrupeds which are common to both hemispheres, will amount to thirty. All of them, are the quadrupeds of cold countries; fitted by nature to that climate, through which the passage must have been, from the one country to the other. The original situation therefore of these quadrupeds, must have been a cold country. But whether they passed from the northeastern parts of Asia, into America; or whether they issued from the northwest parts of America, into Asia; we have no way to determine. The probability is equal, upon either supposition. All that we can determine is, that they were originally the quadrupeds of a cold climate.

MIGRATION.—Animals of every kind when oppressed by hunger, harassed by their enemies, or when they can find a more comfortable situation, will migrate from one country to another. Their migration when chosen and voluntary, is always with a view to better accommodations; to a situation more favourable for food, growth, and multiplication. Directed by the hand of nature, their natural progress is not to a worse, but to a better situation. They do not leave their own country, to settle in one less suited to their subsistence, and increase; but to acquire greater advantages; an increase of food, numbers, and vigour.—Whether the migration of quadrupeds then was from Asia, or from America, there can be no doubt, but that they found in the country to which they repaired, a climate, soil, and means of
 O subsistence,

subsistence, equally favourable to them, as those which they left. Had there been any very great difference in the provisions, and accommodations of nature, in either country, the quadrupeds, that could easily migrate, would not have remained, for any considerable time, common to them both. — Nothing therefore can be less probable, or more contrary to the laws, tendencies, and operations of nature, than the European idea first introduced by M. Buffon, that the quadrupeds of Europe migrated into a country in America, where every thing was adapted by nature, to their diminution, degradation, and decrease. Had not the northern parts of Asia, and America, been well suited to the subsistence, vigour, and increase, of these quadrupeds, there would not have been any voluntary migration, from the one to the other; nor would these animals have remained, for so long a time, common to them both.

SPECIES.—How far nature has proceeded in the production of quadrupeds, we have not as yet, sufficient information to determine. There may be many species, yet unknown, in those parts of the earth which have not been explored: Nor is the enumeration complete, in those countries which are known. The most that has been done in this branch of natural history, is to be found in the celebrated work of M. Buffon. As the result of his inquiries and information, this able philosopher concludes, that the whole number of quadrupeds, which are spread over the face of the earth, will form about two hundred different species or kinds.* Of these, one hundred are found in America, and about seventy five are peculiar to it. — If the power, the force, or the vigour of animated nature, is to be estimated by the species of quadrupeds, which different countries contain, the conclusion will be, that nature has acted with the greatest vigour, and energy in Amer-

ica. In the different climates in America, nature has produced seventy-five species of quadrupeds. The number of those which are peculiar to the other parts of the globe are one hundred. The dimensions of America, compared with the dimensions of Asia, Africa, and Europe, by the computation of the modern geographers, are as one hundred and forty one to two hundred and forty nine.* The ratio of one hundred and forty one to two hundred and forty nine is the same as seventy five to one hundred and thirty two. And so many species should be found, in the other parts of the globe, to preserve an equality. But this is thirty two more, than nature has produced. In respect then to the different species of quadrupeds, if we are to judge by any enumeration which has yet been made, the greatest force and vigour of nature is found in America.†

MAGNITUDE.—The magnitude which any animal will attain, seems to depend much upon its original constitution, the climate, and proper nourishment.—In the original constitution of each animal, the Creator seems to have established certain laws, respecting its form, generation, expansion, and support. The proper magnitude of the animal, is therefore assigned by nature, to each species. In this way, the original limits are fixed; above, or below which, no individual of that species shall rise, or fall. Within these limits, those variations may take place, which we mean to express, when we call the animal great, or small. But no circumstance will reverse the laws of nature, enable the different species of animals to exchange their proper form, and magnitude;

*Guthrie's Geography, p. 25.

†The enumeration of quadrupeds seems to be too imperfect to afford any accurate calculations of this kind. According to M. Buffon's latest conclusion, in his *Epoques de la Nature*, there are three hundred species of quadrupeds. America according to the Abbe Clavigero, contains about one half of these.

tude ; to debase the ox into a mole, or to exalt the mole to the size of the ox.—Nature has also fitted each quadruped for the climate, in which it was originally placed ; and in that climate only, will it attain its proper perfection. The lion would lose its fierceness, and perish, if it was removed to Lapland ; and the reindeer would diminish, and die, if it was carried to the sandy deserts of Africa. In those climates only, to which nature has adapted each animal, will it attain its greatest magnitude, and most perfect form.—The animal, to which nature has thus assigned its proper constitution, and climate, must be preserved and supported by proper food, or nourishment. A deficiency here, will bring on leanness, impotency, a diminution of size, and a gradual waste and consumption of the whole species. But when the climate, and the food, are both suited to the natural constitution of the animal, their joint influence will produce the greatest size or magnitude, that species will admit.

By comparing the magnitudes of such quadrupeds in Europe, and in America, as are common to both, and derive their support from the hand of nature, we shall of consequence have another comparative view of the vigour and force, to which animated nature arrives, in each country. Several of those quadrupeds, whose weight has been ascertained in Vermont, M. Buffon has given us the weight of in Europe. They are these,

	Weight in Europe. lb. oz.	Weight in Vermont. lb. oz.
The Bear	153 7	456
Wolf	69 8	92
Deer	288 8	308
Fox, red	13 5	20
Porcupine	2 2	16
Martin	1 9	5 4
Polecat	3 3	7 8
		Hare

	Weight in Europe. lb oz.	Weight in Vermont. lb. oz.
Hare	7 6	8
Rabbit	3 4	7
Weasel	2 2	12
Ermine	8 2	14
Flying Squirrel	2 2	10
Beaver	18 5	63 8
Otter	8 9	29 8

From this comparison it appears, that every one of these animals, is larger in America, than it is in Europe. The inference is clear, and decisive : It is in America, and not in Europe, that these quadrupeds of a cold climate, attain their greatest magnitude, and highest perfection.

If the comparison should be made, between the quadrupeds of the torrid zone, the reverse will be found to be the case. The elephant, the rhinoceros of Asia, are much larger than the quadrupeds of Peru and Brasil. The truth is, America is the most favourable to the productions, and growth, of the quadrupeds of cold climates : Asia is the most favourable to the productions, and growth of the quadrupeds of a hot climate. But the greatest of all animals, the Mammoth, was not an animal of the torrid, but of the temperate zone ; and was the production of both countries, of Asia, and of America.

TEMPER AND DISPOSITION.—Most animals have a particular disposition and character assigned to them by nature, indelibly fixed, and which distinguishes the whole species. Thus some are naturally fierce, sanguinary, and carnivorous ; while others are mild, temperate, and gentle : And all of them, are not a little influenced, by the climate they inhabit.—In the hottest climate, and in the burning sands of Africa, the most ravenous, and the fiercest animals abound : The lion, the tyger, and the panther, are there ; in their greatest size, their largest numbers,

numbers, and most extreme fierceness. In such places, the vegetables also contain their strongest qualities ; the drugs, perfumes, and poisons, are the most active, subtle, and powerful.—In America every thing in her vegetables, fruits, and animals, is more mild, and temperate. The quadrupeds that most abound, are the lama, paco, buffalo, elk, deer, fox, beaver, hares, rabbits, and squirrels ; animals, marked with a mildness, and gentleness of character. Those that are the most fierce ; the bear, the wolf, the wildcat, the otter, the congar, or tapyr, are seldom known to make their attacks upon men, unless they are impelled to it by extreme hunger, provocation, or self defence.—It was not therefore with the most fierce and ravenous animals, that America abounded : Her quadrupeds were of a more mild, and temperate disposition. To these, her climate gives the greatest size, the highest perfection, and the largest increase.

INCREASE AND MULTIPLYING POWER.—The increase and multiplying power of animals, is derived partly from nature, and partly from situation, and other circumstances. Nature has made those animals which are the most large, fierce, and noxious, the least apt to multiply. The smaller and more useful any quadruped is, the more rapid is its increase. All of them bring forth their young, at that season of the year, when nature has made the most suitable and ample provision, for their food and support. And then they do multiply with the greatest rapidity, when they are the least molested by man.—But whatever be their multiplying power, it would require a long period of time, before they would arrive at that increase of numbers, in which their progress would be checked, by the want of food. They would naturally spread over the whole continent, before they arrived to such a state. This they had done in every part of America, when it was

was first discovered by the Europeans: Every part of the continent, fitted for their nourishment and growth, abounded with them.—How far nature may proceed this way; or what is the greatest number of quadrupeds, that the uncultivated state of any country will support, we have no observations to determine. But it seems probable, that the *maximum* had already taken place; that America contained her full number of quadrupeds. No observations of phenomena, denote that there has been any increase of these animals, in the uncultivated parts of the continent, since its first discovery; or that they ever were more thick and numerous, in any other part of the globe.—How long a period nature required to advance to this state in America, we have no data to determine. But if we may judge of the energy with which she acts, from the effects of her multiplying power, the conclusion will be, that in no country has she displayed greater powers of fecundity than in America. These circumstances denote an high antiquity, in the origin of the American quadrupeds; and a great fertility in that climate and country, in which they have attained their greatest numbers, their greatest magnitude, and their greatest fecundity.

B I R D S.

THE birds which abound in every part of America, make a curious and beautiful part of her natural history. *Catesby* has given an elegant description of the birds of Carolina. *Belknap* has furnished a good catalogue of those of New Hampshire. Most of the birds which have been mentioned by these authors are to be found in all the northern states. As we approach further towards the north, a great number and variety of water fowl are to be found, in the lakes, rivers, and harbours, which have never been described, or classed.

In Vermont we have most of the birds, which are known in the inland parts, and lakes of the northern climates. Some of them seem to be fitted by nature, to endure all the severity of our climate, and are to be seen in the coldest weather of our winters. Of this kind, are

The Crow. *Corvus cornix*.

Hawk, forked tail. *Falco furcatus*.

Owl. *Strix asio*.

Blue Jay. *Corvus cristatus*.

Snowbird. *Emberiza byemalis*.

Partridge. *Perdix sylvestris*.

Woodpecker, red headed. *Picus capite toto nigro*.

There are several other birds, the robbin, black-bird, lark, snipe, bluebird, &c. which are seen as soon as the snow goes off, in the spring. They are not seen in the winter, but they are found late in the fall. From their late and early appearance, it is not improbable that some of them may tarry here through the winter.

Those which are esteemed *birds of passage*, with the usual times of their appearance, and departure, are

	Time of Ap- pearance.	Departure.
The Snowbird. <i>Emberiza byemalis</i> .	Nov. 20.	April 1.
Wild Goose. <i>Anas canadensis</i> .	March 15.	Nov. 20.
Wild Pigeon. <i>Columba migratoria</i> .	March 20.	Oct. 10.
House Swallow. <i>Hirundo cauda acculeata</i> .	} Ap. 20. Sp. 20.	
Barn Swallow. <i>Hirundo rustica</i> .		
Ground Swallow. <i>Hirundo riparia</i> .		
Black Martin. <i>Hirundo perparea</i> .		

The SNOWBIRD is a beautiful, active, sprightly, little animal. They are generally of a grey colour, and less than a sparrow. Flocks of them appear, as soon as the snow begins to fall in any considerable quantity; and generally a day or two before. They perch on the spires of vegetables above the snow, on the

the bushes, and trees ; and collect on the spots of bare ground. In the most severe storms of snow, these birds appear to be the most active and lively. They feed on the seeds of vegetables, and are extremely fat, and delicious ; but they are too small to be molested on this account. They seem to be of different colours, black, white, and grey ; but they all disappear as soon as the snow goes off.

The WILD GOOSE, from the beginning of April, to the middle of November, resides chiefly in the more northern, and northeasterly parts of America. In those parts they produce their young, and are to be found in the rivers and harbours, in immense numbers. In November they come in large flocks from the north, and northeast, and pass off to the southwest. In March and April, they return from the southwest in a contrary direction, and go back to their summer habitation. These flocks frequently consist of fifty or sixty : They fly at a great height, and appear to observe great regularity in their passage. They sometimes follow one another in a straight line, but are more generally drawn up in the form of a wedge ; and appear to be led by one of the strongest, and most active. While they keep together, they seem to understand their course perfectly well ; but if by any means their order is broken, and the flock dispersed, several of them wander out of their course, appear to be perplexed, descend to the earth, and are often killed or taken. When tamed, they will join with a flock of domestic geese ; but at the usual times of migration, are very apt to join any flock, which approaches near to them, in their passage.

In the WILD PIGEON, the multiplying power of nature acts with great force and vigour. The male and female always pair : They sit alternately upon the eggs, and generally hatch but two at a time ; but this is repeated several times in a season.—The

accounts which are given of the number of pigeons in the uncultivated parts of the country, will appear almost incredible to those who have never seen their nests. The surveyor, *Richard Hazen*, who ran the line which divides Massachusetts from Vermont, in 1741, gave this account of the appearances, which he met with to the westward of Connecticut river. "For three miles together the pigeons' nests were so thick, that five hundred might have been told on the beech trees at one time; and could they have been counted on the hemlocks, as well, I doubt not but five thousand at one turn round."* The remarks of the first settlers of Vermont, fully confirm this account. The following relation was given me, by one of the earliest settlers at Clarendon: "The number of pigeons was immense. Twenty five nests were frequently to be found on one beech tree. The earth was covered with these trees, and with hemlocks, thus loaded with the nests of pigeons. For an hundred acres together, the ground was covered with their dung, to the depth of two inches. Their noise in the evening was extremely troublesome, and so great that the traveller could not get any sleep, where their nests were thick. About an hour after sunrise, they rose in such numbers as to darken the air. When the young pigeons were grown to a considerable bigness, before they could readily fly, it was common for the settlers to cut down the trees, and gather a horse load in a few minutes." The settlement of the country has since set bounds to this luxuriance of animal life; diminished the number of these birds, and drove them further to the northward.

We have four species of SWALLOWS in this part of America. 1. The house swallow. This may be readily distinguished from the rest, by the greater forkedness

* Belknap's History of Newhampshire, Vol. III. p. 171.

forkedness of its tail. It has also a red spot upon its forehead ; and under its chin. This species build their nests in chimneys. Their nests are made of small sticks, cemented together, with a kind of gum, and mud ; they are covered or arched over the tops, and the aperture is on one side. These swallows appear the earliest of any, in the spring : And a few days before their departure in the fall, they associate on the tops of buildings, dry trees, and bushes, as if about to depart in companies. 2. The barn swallow. The size of this, is rather less than that of the other ; and the tail is not forked so much. This swallow builds his nest in barns and out houses ; and they are formed of grass, straw, and feathers. Their eggs are speckled, of a dark brown and white. It is called the barn swallow from the place in which it generally builds its nest. 3. The ground swallow. This is the smallest of the whole species. These swallows form a hole in sandy banks, and on the sides of rivers, of eighteen or twenty four inches in length. Their nests are made at the extremity of these holes, of straw and feathers, laid together in a loose and careless manner. Their eggs are perfectly white. The holes in which they are laid, are designed only for their nests : None of the swallows ever remain in them, during the winter. 4. The black martin. This is the largest of all our swallows. They build their nests under the eaves of houses, in the secret or retired places of out houses, and old buildings. Their nests are made of straw and feathers. They arrive the latest, and disappear the soonest of any of the swallows, which visit us.

The usual times of the appearance and disappearance of these birds, serve to mark the temperature of the climate, with as much precision, as any of the phenomena of nature. But they do not seem to be properly birds of passage. At *Danby* in this state, the inhabitants report, that some of them were taken
out

out of a pond in that town, some years ago. A man was employed in the winter, to procure the roots of the pond lily, for medicinal purposes. Among the mud and roots which he threw out, several swallows were found inclosed in the mud; alive, but in a torpid state. The account is not doubted among the inhabitants; but I have not the testimony of any persons who saw these swallows.—It has been doubted by some able naturalists, whether it is possible for the swallow to live in such a situation. I saw an instance, which puts the possibility of the fact beyond all room for doubt. About the year 1760, two men were digging in the salt marsh at Cambridge, in Massachusetts: On the bank of Charle's river, about two feet below the surface of the ground, they dug up a swallow, wholly surrounded and covered with mud. The swallow was in a torpid state, but being held in their hands, it revived in about half an hour. The place where this swallow was dug up, was every day covered with the salt water; which at every high tide, was four or five feet deep. The time when this swallow was found, was the latter part of the month of February; but the men assured me, they had never found any other swallows in such a situation. The species called the house or chimney swallow, has been found during the winter, in hollow trees. At *Middlebury* in this state, there was a large hollow elm, called by the people in the vicinity the swallow tree. From a man who, for several years, lived within twenty rods of it, I procured this information: He always thought the swallows tarried in the tree through the winter, and avoided cutting it down, on that account. About the first of May, the swallows came out of it, in large numbers, about the middle of the day; and soon returned. As the weather grew warmer, they came out in the morning with a loud noise, or roar, and were soon dispersed: About half an hour before sun down, they returned in millions,

ions, circulating two or three times round the tree, and then descending like a stream, into a hole about sixty feet from the ground. It was customary for persons in the vicinity, to visit this tree, to observe the motions of these birds: And when any persons disturbed their operations, by striking violently against the tree, with their axes, the swallows would rush out in millions, and with a great noise. In November, 1791, the top of this tree, was blown down, twenty feet below where the swallows entered. There has been no appearance of the swallows since. Upon cutting down the remainder, an immense quantity of excrements, quills, and feathers were found; but no appearance or relicks of any nests.

Another of these swallow trees, was at *Bridport*. The man who lived the nearest to it, gave this account: The swallows were first observed to come out of the tree, in the spring; about the time, that the leaves first began to appear on the trees. From that season, they came out in the morning, about half an hour after sunrise: They rushed out like a stream, as big as the hole in the tree would admit, and ascended in a perpendicular line, until they were above the height of the adjacent trees; then assumed a circular motion, performing their revolutions two or three times, but always in a larger circle, and then dispersed in every direction. A little before sundown, they returned in immense numbers, forming several circular motions, and then descended like a stream into the hole, from whence they came out in the morning. About the middle of September, they were seen entering the tree, for the last time. These birds were all of the species called the house or chimney swallow.—The tree was a large hollow elm, the hole at which they entered was about forty feet above the ground, and about nine inches diameter. The swallows made their first appearance in the spring, and their last appearance

ance in the fall, in the vicinity of this tree; and the neighbouring inhabitants had no doubt, but that the swallows continued in it during the winter. A few years ago, a hole was cut at the bottom of the tree: From that time, the swallows have been gradually forsaking the tree, and have now almost deserted it.— Neither of these accounts, are attended with the highest degree of evidence, which the subject may admit of: But I am led to believe from them, that the house swallow, in this part of America, generally resides during the winter, in the hollow of trees; and that the ground swallows, find security in the mud, at the bottom of lakes, rivers, and ponds.

Of the *Singing Birds*, the following are the most distinguished, either by the variety of their notes, or by the melody of their sound:

The Robin. *Turdus migratorius*.

Skylark. *Alauda alpestris*.

Thrush. *Turdus rufrus*.

Thrasher, or Mock Bird. *Turdus polyglottos*.

Boblincoln. *Emberiza oryzivora*.

Yellowbird. *Fringilla aurea*.

Bluebird. *Motacilla coerulia*.

Wren. *Motacilla regulus*.

Red winged Blackbird. *Turdus niger alis superné rubentibus*.

Catbird. *Muscicapa vertice nigra*.

Golden Robin, or Goldfinch. *Oriolus aureus*.

Springbird. *Fringilla*.

Hangbird. *Oriolus iæterus*.

The only natural music, is that of birds. In the uncultivated state, and parts of the country, this delightful sound is not to be heard. Either disgusted with so gloomy a scene, or disliking the food in the uncultivated lands, the musical birds do not deign to dwell in such places; or to put forth their melody to the rocks, and to the trees. But no sooner has man discharged his duty, cut down the trees, and opened
the

the fields to the enlivening influence of the air and the sun, than the birds of harmony repair to the spot, and give it new charms by the animating accents of their music. From break of day until about nine o'clock, the lovely harmony is heard from every quarter. About that time of day, the music ceases. The musicians retire to other employments; and there is no further concert, until next morning. This is one of the most delightful scenes, which nature affords: But like most of our delicate pleasures, it is not to be enjoyed, but in the cultivated state.

A great variety of birds generally resort to the ponds, rivers, and lakes; which, on that account, are commonly distinguished by the name of *Water Fowl*.

Among these aquatic birds, the most common are

The Goose, three species. *Anser canadensis*.

Duck, eight or ten. *Anas*.

Teal, two. *Anas*.

Heron, two. *Ardea*.

Gull, two. *Larus*.

Sheldrake, three. *Mergus*.

Crane. *Ardea canadensis*.

Stork. *Ardea ciconia*.

Loon. *Colymbus immer*.

Waterhen. *Allea artica*.

There are many other birds, which do not fall under either of the above descriptions. Of this kind, the following are the most common and numerous.

The Eagle, two species. *Falco*.

Hawk, four. *Falco*.

Owl, three. *Strix*.

Woodpecker, seven or eight. *Picus*.

Kingbird. *Lanius tyrannus*.

Crow Blackbird. *Gracula quiscal*.

Cuckow. *Cuculus americanus*.

Kingfisher. *Alcedo alcyon*.

Woodcock. *Scolopax rustica*.

Woodsnipe.

Woodsnipe. *Scolopax fedoa*.

Quail. *Perdix minor*.

Curlew, two. *Scolopax* ———.

Plover, four. *Charadrius*.

Wild Turkey. *Meleagris gallopavo*.

Turtle Dove. *Columba carolinensis*.

Whip poor Will. *Caprimulgus europæus*, B.

Nighthawk. *Caprimulgus americanus*.

Hedgebird. *Muscicapa canadensis*.

Crossbill. *Loxia curvirostra*.

Hummingbird. *Trochilus colubris*.

In addition to these, there is a mamillary biped, the Bat (*vespertilio murinus* :) And a great variety and number of small birds, which have never been enumerated, described, or classed. We meet with them every day in the fields, but they are not distinguished by any proper names.

It is worthy of remark that in the birds of America, nature proceeds from her most minute and curious, to the most sublime and magnificent productions. The *Hummingbird* is the least of all birds. The *Condor*, a bird of Southamerica, in bulk, strength, and courage, is the greatest. Both of these are peculiar to America. The gradation from the least to the greatest, through all the intermediate steps and degrees, is nicely and beautifully filled up, with an infinite variety of others.

F I S H E S.

OF the great variety of fish, which nature has produced in the waters of America, but a small part are found in the internal parts of the continent. The largest collection of waters which we have in Vermont, are the lakes Champlain, Memphremagog, Connecticut river, with the ponds and streams connected with them. In these waters we have

The Sturgeon. *Acipenser sturio*.

Salmon.

Salmon. *Salmo*.
 Salmon Trout. *Salmo salar*.
 Bass. *Perca ocelata*.
 Pickerel, or Pike. *Esox lucius*.
 Shad. *Clupea alosa*.
 Alewife. *Clupea*.
 Eel. *Muræna anguilla*.
 Trout. *Tracheta*.
 Red Perch. *Perca fluviatilis*.
 White Perch. *Perca lucioperca*.
 Pout. *Silurus felis*.
 Shiner. *Perca nobilis*.
 Chub. *Perca philadelphica*.
 Breach. *Perca chrysoptera*.
 Bret. *Clupea minima*.
 Menow. *Perca*.
 Sucker. *Catostomus*.
 Dace. *Leuciscus*.

Migration is not peculiar to the birds: Several kinds of fishes, have as regular periods of approach, and departure, as the birds of passage. This is the case with the salmon. In the spring, about the 25th of April, these fish begin to pass up Connecticut river, and proceed to the highest branches. About the same time, or a little later, they are found in Lake Champlain, and the large streams which fall into it. So strong is this instinct of migration in the salmon, that in passing up the rivers, they force their passage over cataracts of several feet in height, and in opposition to the most rapid currents. They are sometimes seen to make six or seven attempts, before they can succeed to ascend the falls. When they are thus going up in the spring, they are round and fat, of an excellent taste, and flavour. From the first week in May, to the second week in June, they are taken in great numbers. When they arrive at the upper parts of the rivers, they deposit their spawn, and remain there during the summer season;

season; but become very lean, and flaccid. Towards the latter end of September, they return to the ocean; but so much emaciated, that they are not taken, or used for food. Some of these salmon in the spring, will weigh thirty five or forty pounds. They migrate only to cold waters. None of them are ever found to the south, or west, of Connecticut river. Those that go further to the northward, and pass up the river St. Lawrence, are generally more large and rich, than those which come from the southward.

The *Salmon Trout*, in its form, dimensions, and appearance, very much resembles the salmon; but the meat is of a finer grain, and of a more delicate taste, and flavour. This trout is found in Lake Champlain, and in the rivers and ponds, which are connected with it. These fish are taken with the hook and line, like the cod and haddock. Trouts from seven to ten pounds, are common. In a pond at Leicester in this state, some have been taken which weighed twenty five pounds: Others much larger have been seen leaping out of the water, which the fisherman supposed would weigh from thirty five to forty pounds.

The *Pike* or *Pickerele* abounds much in Lake Champlain. It is there called by the name of Muschilongoe, and grows to a great size. They are easily taken with a spear, and some of them have weighed forty pounds, and were six feet in length.

Of the small fish, which reside in the brooks and small streams, the most numerous and useful, are the trout, perch, and sucker. The trout, in its colour, form, and taste, resembles the salmon trout, but is of much smaller dimensions. The largest of them; will not weigh more than two pounds and an half, or three pounds. This fish is found in all the streams; which have their origin in the mountains; and generally very near their sources, in the high lands.

The

The perch and the sucker are also very numerous, and useful, and of nearly the same dimensions. The most uncommon instance, which I have ever seen, of the multiplying power of nature, was in the increase of these fish. At Tinmouth, is a brook about twenty or thirty feet wide, and two or three deep; in which the trout and sucker were to be found of the common size, and number. A dam was built across this stream, for the purpose of supplying water for a sawmill. This dam formed a pond, which covered by estimation, about a thousand acres, where the trees were thick, and the soil had never been cultivated. In two or three years, the fish were multiplied to an incredible number. They were become so numerous, that at the upper end of the pond, where the brook fell into it, in the spring the fish are seen running one over another; embarrassed with their own numbers; and unable to escape from any attempt that is made to take them. They are taken by the hands, at pleasure; and the swine catch them without difficulty. With a net, the fishermen often take a bushel at a draught, and repeat their labour with the same success. Carts are loaded with them, in as short a time, as the people could gather them up, when thrown upon the banks; and it is customary to sell them in the fishing season, for a shilling by the bushel. While they have thus increased in numbers, they are become more than double to their former size.—This extreme increase does not seem to be derived from any other cause, than that of collecting the waters in such a quantity, as to form the pond; and thus increase the means of subsistence, by carrying the water over a large tract of rich, and uncultivated land. Events of a similar nature generally take place, when an artificial pond is made in any part of the country, not
before

before cultivated ; and probably from the same cause.*

In the production of fish, nature seems to have been extremely prolific, in every part of America: Their species, their multiplying power, and the age at which they become prolific, are beyond our knowledge, and computation. The brooks, rivers, ponds, and lakes, are every where, stored with them. The sea coasts are one continued range of fishing banks, covered with cod, haddock, and other animals of the ocean. The *whale* is generally esteemed the greatest animal, which nature has produced in the water : In the seas of America, this is to be found in its greatest perfection of magnitude and numbers.

Fossil shells are frequently found at some distance from the banks of our lakes, rivers, brooks, and meadows. Some have been found on the sides, or rather in the gullies of the mountains. Such productions require a collection of water for their formation. Naturalists have proposed many theories and speculations, to account for the collection of water in such places, where there are now no appearances of the kind.

In their descent from the mountains, the brooks and rivers must every where have formed themselves into lakes, ponds, and small collections of water:

And

* The number of fish in the rivers of Southamerica, is fully equal to any thing that takes place, in the northern parts of the continent. "In the Maragnon," says P. Acugna, "fish are so plentiful, that, without any art, they may take them with their hands."

"In the Orinoco," says P. Gumilla, "besides an infinite variety of other fish, tortoises or turtle abound in such numbers, that I cannot find words to express it. I doubt not but that such as read my account will accuse me of exaggeration : But I can affirm, that it is as difficult to count them, as to count the sands on the bank of that river." Hist. del. Orenoque, ii. c. 22. p. 59. M. de la Condamine confirms their accounts.

And it was not until after long periods of time, that they could form for themselves channels of such depth, as to discharge the waters which had been thus collected. Some of these ponds were formed on the sides of the mountains, and others overflowed what are now called the meadows; and many of their ancient phenomena yet remain. The waters have long since formed the channels, by which they are now discharged into the ocean.—In such places, fossil shells are yet found: They are the productions of former times, when those places were covered by the waters descending from the mountains; then collected into quantities for want of natural channels, now drawn off by the depth of the channels which the waters have formed, and constantly rendered more and more deep.

REPTILES AND INSECTS.

THAT class of animals, which are distinguished by the names of reptiles, and insects, are numerous in every part of America. They abound the most, and are of the largest size, in the hottest parts of the continent. In a climate so cold as that of Vermont, they are comparatively of but a few species, and small in their size; but they exist in great numbers. The following are our

AMPHIBIOUS REPTILES.

The Turtle, two species. *Testudo*.

Toad. *Rana*.

Frog, five. *Rana*.

Lizard. *Lacerta punctata*.

Swift. *Lacerta fusciata*.

There are several accounts in natural history, of toads being found in the hearts of trees, and in solid rocks; wholly inclosed, and shut up from the
air,

air, and all appearance of food; and being taken alive, out of such situations. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, there is an account that in the year 1731, a toad was found in the heart of an old oak near Nantz, without any visible entrance to its habitation. From the size of the tree, it was concluded, that the toad must have been confined in that situation, at least eighty or an hundred years.* We have several instances in Vermont, equally extraordinary. At Windsor, a town joining to Connecticut river, in September, 1790, a living frog was dug up at the depth of nine feet, from the surface of the earth. *Stephen Jacobs*, Esq; from whom I have this account, informs me, that the place where this frog was found, was about half a mile from the river, on the intervale lands, which are annually overflowed by its waters. At Castleton, in the year 1779, the inhabitants were engaged in building a fort, near the centre of the town. Digging into the earth five or six feet below the surface, they found many frogs, apparently inactive, and supposed to be dead. Being exposed to the air, animation soon appeared, and they were found to be alive, and healthy. I have this account from General *Clarke*, and a Mr. *Moulton*, who were present when these frogs were dug up. Upon viewing the spot, it did not appear to me, that it had ever been overflowed with water, but it abounded with springs. A more remarkable instance was at Burlington, upon Onion river. In the year 1788, *Samuel Lane*, Esq; was digging a well near his house. At the depth of twenty five or thirty feet, from the surface of the earth, the labourers threw out with their shovels, something which they suspected to be groundnuts, or stones covered with earth. Upon examining these appearances, they were found to be frogs; to which,

* Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, p. 122.

which, the earth every where adhered. The examination was then made of the earth, in the well, where they were digging. A large number of frogs were found covered with the earth, and so numerous, that several of them were cut in pieces by the spades of the workmen. Being exposed to the air, they soon became active ; but unable to endure the direct rays of the sun, the most of them perished. This account is from Mr. *Lane*, and Mr. *Lawrence* one of the workmen, who were both present when the frogs were dug up. From the depth of earth, with which these frogs were covered, it cannot be doubted but that they must have been covered over in the earth, for many ages, or rather centuries. The appearances denote that the place from whence these frogs were taken, was once the bottom of a channel or lake, formed by the waters of Onion river. In digging the same well, at the depth of forty one feet and an half from the surface, the workmen found the body of a tree eighteen or twenty inches in diameter ; partly rotten, but the biggest part sound. The probability is, that both the tree, and the frogs were once at the bottom of the channel of a river, or lake ; that the waters of Onion river, constantly bringing down large quantities of earth, gradually raised the bottom : That by the constant increase of earth and water, the water was forced over its bounds, and formed for itself a new channel or passage, in its descent into Lake Champlain.—How vigorous and permanent must the principle of life be, in this animal ! Frogs placed in a situation, in which they were perpetually supplied with moisture, and all waste and perspiration from the body prevented, preserve the powers of life from age to age ! Centuries must have passed since they began to live, in such a situation ; and had that situation continued, nothing appears, but that they would have lived for many centuries yet to come !

S E R P E N T S.

The Rattle Snake. *Crotalus horridus*.
 Black Snake. *Coluber constrictor*.
 Green Snake. *Coluber saurita*.
 Striped Snake. *Anguis cryx*.
 Water Adder. *Coluber fasciatus*.

These are all the species of this kind of animals, of which I have any account; and these are but seldom to be met with in Vermont.

There is a curious phenomenon respecting two of these species, which seems to deserve further inquiries. The farmers, and other persons who frequently meet with the rattle snake, and with the black snake, seem universally to believe that each of these animals, have a power of *fascination*; or as it is commonly expressed, of *charming* birds, and other small animals. The account which is generally given, is this: The snake lies stretched out his full length, in some open place; his head raised eight or ten inches from the ground; his colours glow with their greatest brightness; his eyes play with an uncommon brilliancy, and fire; and are steadily fixed on the enchanted animal.—During this scene, the bird appears to be in the greatest distress; is constantly putting forth the most mournful accents; at the same time, is performing a number of irregular circular motions; and at the end of each, approaches nearer to the snake: This scene continues, and is incessantly repeated, until the bird, without any power to escape, comes within the reach of the voracious jaws of the serpent, when it is instantly seized: But if the snake is attacked, or so disturbed during the operation, that his attention is turned another way, the charm is broken; and the bird recovering his liberty, immediately flies off.—

I have never myself seen any thing like this fascinating

ing scene ; but I have had accounts exactly similar, from more than a dozen persons, whose integrity I cannot in the smallest degree, call in question. There is room, however, for mistakes in such kind of observations ; and in most of them, the snake was disturbed, before the scene was finished. That there is something curious in these appearances, cannot be doubted. But whether these snakes have such powers, or by what causes such events are produced, seems to require more accurate observations, and a more philosophical investigation.

I N S E C T S.

The insects are too minute, and numerous, to be particularly described. The most common are the beetle, grasshopper, cricket, butterfly, firefly, black-fly, moth, flea, ant, musquito, spider, hornet, wasp, bumble bee, honey bee, various kinds of bugs, and several species of worms. Of these the musquito is the most troublesome. The weevil, the Hessian fly, and the locust, are not known in this part of the continent.

Of the bee, there is a species which is generally called with us, the *bumble bee*. This is indigenous to the country; and much larger than the common bee. It forms a nest upon the ground ; and produces a species of honey; in transparency, beauty, and sweetness, fully equal to that of the honey bee ; but much less in quantity. Whether the honey bee is a native of the country, seems to be viewed by some as uncertain. I do not find much reason to doubt, but that it was in America, before the Europeans made their first settlements in the country. From the pictures and tribute rolls of the Mexicans, it appears that the honey bee was known, and that honey was one part of the annual tribute which was paid to their emperors before the arrival of the Spaniards.

iards. *Clavigero* in his history of Mexico, confirms these accounts ; and mentions six kinds of bees which make honey ; two of which have stings, and one in all respects agrees with the honey bee of Europe. A species of the honey bee, but without stings, was found in Chiapa, and Yucatan. The same according to *Margrave*, was found in Brasil. In 1540, among the provisions of the natives of Florida, " a pot full of honie of bees," was found by *Soto*.—From these accounts, it is not to be doubted, but that the honey bee was indigenous, and had spread over the empire of Mexico. To the east, it had advanced as far as Florida ; And to the south, to Yucatan, and the country of Brasil. To an immense country then, the honey bee was indigenous, and common.—There was no cause in the nature of the animal, or of the climate, to prevent their spreading to the northward. They live in the hollow trees in the woods of Vermont, from year to year ; and are always found, of their full dimensions, vigorous, and plentifully supplied with honey ; and they bear the cold of our winters, much better in the hollow of a large tree, than in any of our artificial bee hives. They live and abound in Russia, where the climate is much more severe, than it is in this part of America ; They would therefore naturally extend, and spread along the country, where they could find the means of subsistence, and a climate not unsuited to their support. It has always been found far beyond the English settlements. From our earliest acquaintance with Lake Champlain, it was to be found in the open lands, along those shores ; at the distance of an hundred miles from the English or French settlements ; and long before those settlements had begun to attend to the cultivation of this animal : And from the first settlement of Newengland, hunting for their nests has been a favourite and profitable amusement.—But as the
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chief food of the bee is from the blossoms and flowers of plants, it does not multiply so fast in the uncultivated parts of the country, as where the improvements of agriculture and gardening, are constantly producing a greater variety, and number of vegetables.

To the tribes of reptiles and insects, we have affixed the idea of something, unpleasant, diminutive, or odious. The designs, the wisdom, and the power of the Creator, are not to be estimated by such feelings, fears, and prejudices. The reptile, the insect, the fish, the bird, and the quadruped, one as much as the other, denote wisdom, power, and design, in the author of nature : And they are alike evidences, and instances, of the power of animated nature, in the different parts of the earth. We may therefore as justly and clearly deduce the energy and force of animated nature in any country, from the number and magnitude of the insects, as from the species and dimensions of any other animals. The European philosophers have dwelt with wonder and astonishment, on the numbers and size of these animals in America. The facts are justly stated, in several of their accounts ; and they ought to have concluded from them, that the soil was uncommonly rich, fertile, and luxuriant. Anxious to find marks of degradation in America, they have almost universally advanced a contrary conclusion : That this prolific power of nature, denoted an uncommon corruption, and degradation of climate. No conclusion was ever further from the truth, or more remote from probability. It is only a rich soil, and a temperate climate, which can produce what they call a rank vegetation, or numerous reptiles and insects, of the largest size.

From this imperfect view of our quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects, instead of finding nature but weak and feeble in America, as M. de Buffon
has

has supposed ;* her animals appear to be marked with an energy, and a magnitude, superiour to what is found in Europe ; and equalled only, by the magnificent and vigorous productions of Asia.

* “ La nature vivante est beaucoup moins agissante beaucoup moins forte.” Hist. Nat, xviii. 123. edit. Paris, 1764.

C H A P. VII.

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS.—*The Employments, Civil Government, System of War, Education, Manners, and Customs of the Indians; the Advantages, and Disadvantages of the Savage State.*

IN the formation of the mountains, rivers, vegetables, and animals, the powers of nature appear to rise in a steady and beautiful progress. This progress seems to be completed in the production of a rational, moral, and accountable animal. This animal is *Man*: And he evidently appears in every part of the globe, to be at the head of all the productions of nature: But the men of different countries and nations, appear to be very different from one another.

The original inhabitants of this country were the *Indians*: These were the only species or kind of men, that had spread over America. It will be more difficult to give a just account of *the Man of America*, than to describe its vegetables, and animals. The latter are subject to stated, and invariable laws; they pass through but few changes and variations, and are always to be found in that state, in which nature placed them. Man is subject to a great variety of alteration, and improvement. In his rudest and most simple state, he appears but little superiour to the brute; in his highest improvement and polish of manners, he appears at an infinite remove from the
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bare animal ; and in all the stages of his progress from the one state to the other, he passes through an endless variety of situations and circumstances, which are constantly giving a new appearance to his capacity, powers, passions, manners, and pursuits. The natural history of man is therefore the most difficult, but it is also the most useful and important subject we can contemplate. In examining the history of the Indian of America, we shall find man in the most simple mode, and unimproved state, in which he has ever been placed, or viewed.*

APPEARANCE AND COUNTENANCE.—The appearance of the Indians was different from any, under which man had ever been viewed before. The colour of their skin is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the colour of copper, but rather darker. Their faces are broad, the nose appears flattish, their eyes black, small, and very active. The hair of their heads is always black, coarse, long, and perfectly straight ; and they generally appear without any beard. The men are taller than the Europeans, but rarely corpulent ; and their bodies appear to be firm, strong, and well proportioned. Their features are regular and well adjusted, but their countenance discovers something wild, fierce, and sullen. None of them are seen crooked, mutilated, or deformed ; defective in any of their senses, or deficient in any of their bodily organs ; but straight, well built, and robust. In the appearance, aspect, and countenance of the Indians, there is an uncommon uniformity, and resemblance. It is the same in all climates, and in all the tribes of America. It does not vary
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* The following account relates chiefly to the Indians in the northern parts of America. I have received much assistance from the writings of Dr. Robertson, and other authors. But the authorities on which the accounts are founded, are chiefly the relations of those persons who have lived among the Indians, and been intimately acquainted with them.

with heat, cold, situation, employment, or other circumstances; but the Indian countenance has the same combination of features, and peculiarity of aspect, in every part of America.

EMPLOYMENT, AND METHOD OF PROCURING SUBSISTENCE.—The food proper for man, is to be found in every part of the earth. But the means and the method of procuring it, are different among different nations, and in different stages of society.—The savages of Northamerica had discovered the properties and effects of those seeds, berries, and roots, which the earth spontaneously produces; and one part of their food was derived from this source. Fishing was another method which they used to procure subsistence. The great plenty and variety of fish, with which the rivers of America abounded, rendered this kind of provision easy to be procured, and of great use. The Indian had acquired much skill and address, in his method of catching the fish; and he was accustomed to dry, and smoke them, in order to preserve them. The falls of rivers were the places, to which they most resorted for this purpose: And most of these falls were the places, where some of their tribes or small companies resided: And they were generally distinguished by some particular Indian name.—A more general and effectual method of support, was hunting. The fruits which the earth spontaneously produced, were but few, and of short continuance. A few tribes only could be accommodated, by the vicinity and convenience of a river: But game was every where to be found. The bear, the deer, the beaver, the fox, and other animals, were in great numbers, and in every part of the northern continent. From these, the Indian derived his most sure, and plentiful support. But this method of procuring food, required great efforts of invention, and activity. The strength, the fierceness, and the swiftness of the wild animals, the feebleness

bleness of the weapons, the bow, arrow, and club, with which the savage attacked them, joined to make the business of the hunter laborious and difficult; and called forth all the active powers of the savage. And here, he appeared to the greatest advantage; fertile in invention, sagacious in distinguishing and observing, nice and accurate in tracing the animal; indefatigable, and persevering in the pursuit. An employment which thus gave exertion to all the invention, courage, force, and vigor of the man, naturally became the most honourable employment: And the most dexterous hunter became the most distinguished savage of the tribe.—To these methods of procuring food, were added some feeble attempts in agriculture. Indian corn, beans, pompions, and squashes, were the only plants they cultivated. The culture of these was wholly in the hands of the women. Without the use and knowledge of any of the domestic animals, altogether destitute of the proper instruments of husbandry, their efforts were weak and languid; and the supplies they derived this way, were but small.

These were all the methods of procuring food, with which the Indians were acquainted. They afforded them but a scanty and precarious support. When the game was plenty; and the hunter successful, they had an abundance of food. When the season of the year was unfavourable, and their success but small, they were reduced to scarcity and want. Their sufferings this way, were sometimes extremely severe. And there was no year, in which they were not subject to these extremes, of great plenty, and severe famine.

The appetite of the Indian conformed to this state of things. In the seasons of plenty, the savage indulged himself to great excess: In the time of famine, the Indian bore his hunger with astonishing patience, and firmness. So accustomed was he to this
irregular

irregular method of living, that excess and famine were equally familiar to him; and his constitution and health remained firm and vigorous, under the extremes of both.

From this situation and employment of the Indian, all the *regulations, customs, advantages, and disadvantages*, of the savage state, were derived.

SOCIETY.—When any considerable number of the human race subsist near each other, they will always combine in some form of society. Mutual wants, dangers, dependencies, interests, and benefits, operating with the appetite man has for society, will not fail to produce this effect. The situation and employment of the Indians, determined what the nature and extent of this society must be, among them. The chief source of subsistence among them, was hunting. On this account, a large territory became necessary for the support of a small number of people. Like the game on which they subsist, they must be dispersed over a large tract of country, or they cannot procure food. In this stage of society, the extent of it is derived from its situation. Its territory must be large, the number of people will be small, and all hostile tribes must be kept at such a distance, as not to encroach upon the territory or the game. This was the state, in which the savages were found. Divided into a number of tribes, small in the number of people, large in the extent of territory, and generally unfriendly and hostile to each other.

NATURE OF THEIR CIVIL GOVERNMENT.—From this state of society, arose a species and form of government peculiar to the Indians.—The *design* and *object* of government among the savages, was not the property, security, or conduct of the individual; but the property, and safety of the tribe. The idea of property is suggested by nature; and was clear, distinct, and just, in the mind of the rudest Indian. The fish in the river, and the game in the forest,

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were not the product of his care or labour; and he had no idea that they belonged to him, more than to any other individual. But when they were acquired by his personal exertion, no other savage doubted but that they were become his particular and exclusive property. The river, or the forest, from which they were taken, were not personal but public property: They belonged to the tribe. No individual claimed a right to them, in preference to, or exclusive of others. These were the property of the tribe, belonging equally to all, and to which all had a right to repair in quest of subsistence, the equal and common privilege. When the Indian builded his house, or planted his corn, no one had a right to molest him; the house and the corn became his. When he relinquished his possession, any other of the tribe had a right to take possession; and pursue the same employment that he had done. The fruits of their own labour and industry, was always the property of the individual: The river, the forest, the hunting ground, the land or the territory, was the property of the tribe. The former was of so simple a nature, so well understood, and so universally agreed to, that few controversies could ever arise about it; common custom and consent was sufficient to adjust and regulate every thing of this nature. The latter contained all the property, the means of subsistence, and that on which the whole tribe depended for their existence. This was the great object and aim of their government; to protect and defend that, on which the whole tribe subsisted.—In such a state of society, the injuries that would be done to individuals would not be many in their number, or often of such a kind, as to endanger the existence or sovereignty of the tribe. The right of redressing them, was therefore left in private hands. This has always been the case, in the infancy of society and government. If injuries were done, if blood was shed,

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it belonged to the friends and family of the injured person to seek redress. If the chiefs interposed, it was only by way of counsel and advice. The friends of the injured person might accept of their advice, or of the reparation offered by the aggressor, or they might reject it: If it was accepted, all was settled in a quiet and friendly manner: If rejected, nothing remained but to pursue the aggressor with a revenge and rage, that aimed at nothing less than destruction and death.

The *form* and *manner* of the Indian government, was the most simple that can be contrived, or imagined. There was no king, nobility, lords, or house of representatives, among them. The whole tribe assembled together in their public councils. Destitute of writings, records, and history, to preserve the memory of their public transactions; their most aged men became the depositories, of what may be gathered from experience, observation, and a knowledge of their former transactions. It is by them that the debates and consultations are chiefly carried on. Their councils are slow, solemn, and deliberate. Every circumstance that they can foresee, is taken into consideration. The probable advantages and disadvantages of every measure, are examined and weighed. All the prospects of success and disappointment, are revolved in their debates; and nothing is omitted, which occurs to their views or expectations. The whole business is a scene of consultation, and advice. And the advice has no other force or authority, than what is derived from its supposed wisdom, fitness, and propriety.

The *strength* or *power* of the government, is placed wholly in the public sentiment. The chief has no authority to enforce his counsels, or compel to his measures. He is fed and clothed like the rest of the tribe. His house and furniture are the same as those of others. There is no appearance, or mark
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of distinction : No ceremony, or form of induction into office : No ensigns or tokens of superiority, or power. In every external circumstance, the chiefs are upon a level with the rest of the tribe : And that only which gives weight and authority to their advice, is the public opinion of their superiour wisdom and experience.—Their laws stand on the same foundation. There was no written law, record, or rule of conduct. No public precedent, established courts, forms or modes of proceeding. The causes and occasions of contention were so few, that they did not much affect the tribe. And when the chiefs interposed in the concerns of individuals, it was not to compel, but only to counsel and advise them. The public opinion pointed out what was right, fit, and proper to be esteemed laws and rules of conduct. These rules or laws derived from nature, were seldom wrong, obscure, or inconsistent ; but generally plain, clear, and useful.—Their penalties and punishments were derived from the same source. Loss of character, and reputation, disgrace, exclusion from the tribe, and death, were the punishments to which offenders were exposed, according to the nature and aggravation of their crimes. These punishments were not described, and assigned to a particular crime by a written law ; but they rested upon the public opinion of the tribe, and derived great force and power from it. An offender who had been greatly and deeply guilty, fled from the tribe, as the only way to safety, peace, and rest.

There was a *fitness* and *propriety* in this government, or rather, it was fully adequate to its end and design, and to the situation and state of the savage. A modern statesman would smile at this idea of Indian government : And because he could find no written constitution, or bill of rights, no mutual checks, and ballances, accountability and responsibility, pronounce it weak, foolish, and contemptible,

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But it was evidently derived from the dictates of nature, and well adapted to the state and situation of the savage. The idea of property was so plain and clear, and the objects to which it related were so few and simple, that there was no need of a code of laws to describe and define it. The rights of the individual, his freedom and liberty, were so strongly felt, and so universally acknowledged, that no person dared to invade them. The crimes of the vicious received a just and a full punishment; in the disgrace, contempt, and danger, they brought upon the guilty. The individual had all the security, in the public sentiment, custom, and habit, that government can any where afford him. All that was to be defended was the territory, the interest, the independence, and sovereignty of the tribe; and every part of the government was adapted and designed to form, to animate, and to inflame, a national spirit of vigour and independence.

Agreeably to its nature and design, the *tendency* and *effect* of the savage government, was equality, freedom, and independence, among all the members of the tribe. In respect to rights and privileges, the savage knew of no superiour. Of abasement, humiliation, dependence, or servitude, he had no idea. Depending on his own exertions for food and raiment, he had never looked to another for assistance, promotion, or wealth. When the interest of the tribe was in question, or in danger, the wisdom and experience of years was consulted, to advise and determine: And their counsels became matters of great respect. But constraint, compulsion, and force, was the object of the highest detestation and horror. Every measure of the government tended to confirm and increase the spirit of freedom, equality, and independence, and to render it strong, fierce, and permanent, through the whole tribe.

SYSTEM OF WAR AMONG THE INDIANS.—The civil regulations of the savages were all designed to qualify and prepare them for war. Among the causes that lead to this, an opposition of interests, was the most common and powerful. No people ever had more clear, or more just ideas of their own rights and property, than the Indians. They not only understood their own personal rights, but they were perfectly well acquainted with the rights and property, that were vested in the tribe. Each tribe claimed the soil in their own domains. This right was viewed as complete, perfect, and exclusive: Such as entitled them to the full and entire possession; and to oppose by force and violence, all encroachments upon the soil, or game, in any part of their territories. The bounds of these territories were extensive, and ill defined. Real or supposed encroachments and injuries, were constantly taking place. Hence arose innumerable subjects of dispute and controversy, which easily inflamed the fierceness of the savage temper, and brought on mutual injuries, reproaches, hostilities, and war. In this state, most of the Indian tribes were found. Interest had become a source of discord, among the neighbouring tribes. From this cause, arose most of their inveterate and perpetual wars.

The manner in which the Indians carry on their wars, is very different from that of civilized nations. To defend themselves against an enemy, they have no other fortification but an irregular kind of fortress, which they call a castle or fat. It consisted of a square without bastions, surrounded with pallisades. This was erected where the most considerable number of the tribe resided, and was designed as an asylum for their old men, their women, and children, while the rest of the tribe were gone out to war.—The weapons of the Indian were a club made of hard wood, a bow and arrow. Thus armed, the
Indian

Indian takes with him a small bag of corn, and is completely equipped for a campaign. When he takes the field, it is with such a number of warriors as the tribe can supply. During their march, they are dispersed in straggling companies, that they may better supply themselves by hunting.—When they approach near to the enemies' frontiers, their troops are more collected : All is then caution, stratagem, secrecy, and ambuscade. Their employment as hunters has taught them great address and vigilance, in following and surprising the game. Their mode of war is the same, as that of hunting. With great ingenuity, they will find and follow the track of their enemies : With a surprising patience and perseverance, they will wait for the moment, when they find him the least able to defend himself. And when they can find an enemy unprepared, they make their attack with great fury, and with pretty sure success. In their battles they always endeavour to secure themselves behind the trees or rocks, and never meet their enemy in the open field, or upon equal terms, if they can avoid it. The method of the Europeans, of deciding a battle in the open field, they regard as extreme folly and want of prudence. Their established maxims are to obtain a superiority in situation, numbers, concealment, or some other circumstance before the battle : In this way, to preserve the lives of their own party, and destroy their enemies, with as little loss as possible to themselves. A victory obtained with the loss of many of their own party, is a matter of grief and disgrace, rather than of exultation : And it is no honour to fall in the field of battle, but viewed rather as an evidence of want of wisdom, discernment, and circumspection.—When the attack is to be made, nothing can exceed the courage and impetuosity of the savage. The onset begins with a general outcry, terminating in a universal yell. Of all the sounds that discord has produced,

produced, the Indian warwhoop is the most awful and horrid. It is designed and adapted to increase the ardor of those who make the attack, and to carry terror and horror into the feelings of those, on whom the attack is made. The Indians immediately come forward, and begin the scene of outrage and death. All is then a scene of fury, impetuosity, and vengeance. So great is the rage of the savage, that he has no regard to discipline, subordination, and order. Revenge, takes an entire possession of his soul : Forgetful of all order, regardless of discipline and danger, he aims only to butcher and destroy.—If the Indians remain masters of the field, they always strip and scalp the dead. Leaving the bodies of their enemies, naked, unburied, and often mangled, they carry off the plunder and scalps ; and make a very swift and sudden retreat. Upon their approach to their own tribe, a herald is sent forward to announce the event : The tribe is collected, and the conquerors make their entry with their ensigns of triumph : The scalps stretched upon a bow, and elevated upon a pole, are carried before them, as the tokens of their valour and success, and monuments of the vengeance they have inflicted upon the enemies of their country.

The prisoners which they have taken, make an important part of their triumph. The savages are anxious to take as many of these as possible. During their march, they are generally treated with a degree of humanity and kindness ; but the greatest care is taken to prevent their escape. When they arrive at the place of their destination, the old men, women, and children of the Indian tribe, form themselves into two lines, through which the prisoners must run the gantlet to the village. If the prisoner is young, active, and a good runner, he makes his way through the lines without receiving much injury. If he is weak, old, and infirm, he receives much damage by the blows, stripes, and bruises, he receives.

receives. When this scene is finished the prisoners are conducted to the village, treated with apparent good humour, and fed as well as the Indians' fare admits.

To the village thus assembled, the head warrior of the party relates every particular of the expedition. When he mentions their losses, a bitter grief and sorrow appears in the whole assembly. When he pronounces the names of the dead, their wives, relations, and friends, put forth the most bitter shrieks, and cries. But no one asks any question, or interrupts the speaker with any inquiry. The last ceremony is to proclaim the victory. Every individual forgets his own loss and misfortune, and joins in the triumph of his nation. Their tears cease, and with one of the most unaccountable transitions in human nature, they pass at once from the bitterness of sorrow to all the extravagance of joy. The whole concludes with a savage feast, songs, and dance.

The fate of the prisoners is next to be decided. The elders and chiefs assemble and deliberate concerning their destiny. The women and children are disposed of, according to the pleasure of their captors; but they are seldom or never put to torture, or death. Of the men, some are appointed to supply the places of such Indians as have fallen in battle. These are delivered to their friends and relations, and if they are received by them, they have no sufferings to fear: They are adopted into the family, and succeed to all the privileges of the deceased; and are esteemed as friends, brothers, and near relations. But if they are not received and admitted into the family, or if they are destined to be put to death, a most distressing and horrid scene ensues.

A stake is fixed firmly in the ground. At the distance of eight or ten feet, dry wood, leaves, and fagots, are placed in a circle round the stake: And
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the whole village is collected, to bear their part in the tragedy, which is to ensue. The prisoner is led to the stake, and tied to it by his hands, in such a manner that he may move freely round it. Fire is set to the wood, that as it runs round the circle, the unhappy victim may be forced to run the same way. As the sufferings of the prisoner begin to become severe, the acclamations of the spectators begin. The men, women, and children, strive to exceed each other, in finding out new and keener methods of torment. Some apply red hot irons, others stab and cut with their knives, others mangle and tear off the flesh, others again bite off the nails and joints, or twist and tear the sinews. Every species and degree of cruelty, that savage rancour and revenge can invent and apply, is tried upon the wretched sufferer. But great care is taken that the vital parts may not be so injured, as to bring the torments of the victim to a speedy end.—In this horrid situation, the sufferer is undaunted and intrepid. He reviles and insults his tormentors. He accuses them of cowardice, meanness, and want of spirit; as ignorant, unskilful, and destitute of ingenuity and invention in the art of tormenting. Not a groan, a sigh, a tear, or a sorrowful look, is suffered to escape him. To insult his tormentors, to display undaunted and unalterable fortitude in this dreadful situation is the most noble of all the triumphs of the warrior. With an unaltered countenance, and with the decisive tone of dignity and superiour importance, the hero proceeds with great calmness to sing the song of his death—"Intrepid and brave, I feel no pain, and I fear no torture. I have slain, I have conquered, I have burnt mine enemies; and my countrymen will avenge my blood. Ye are a nation of dogs, of cowards, and women. Ye know not how to conquer, to suffer, or to torture. Prolong and increase my torments, that ye may learn from

my example how to suffer and behave like men!" With such unconquerable magnanimity and fortitude, the sufferer perseveres under every method of torment and torture. Wearied with cruelty, and tired with tormenting a man whose fortitude they cannot move, one of the chiefs in a rage concludes the scene, by knocking the prisoner on the head, or stabbing him to the heart.

These scenes however were not common. They seem to have been kind of honours, reserved for the warriors; and were the trials of their courage and fortitude. And nothing was esteemed more base and ignominious, than to shrink from them, or to shew any sense of fear or pain under them.

When the prisoners were adopted into the tribe of the conquerors, nothing could exceed the kindness and affection, with which they were treated. All distinction of tribes was forgot; they held the same rank as the deceased person, whose place they filled; and were treated with all the tenderness due to the husband, the brother, the child, or friend. And it was generally the case, that the savages avoided abuse and cruelty to the women and children, that fell into their hands.

The Indian method of carrying on a war, was so contrary to the maxims and customs of all civilized nations, that some of the European writers, judging from their own customs, have concluded it was founded on cowardice, and arose from an ignoble and timid spirit, afraid to meet its opposers on equal ground, and depending wholly on craft, and not at all on courage and firmness of mind. No conclusion was ever further from the truth. When placed in a critical and dangerous situation, no people ever discovered more valour, firmness, and intrepidity. When subdued, an Indian was never known to ask for his life. When compelled to suffer, the Indian bore it with a steadiness, a fortitude, and a magnanimity, unknown

unknown to all other nations ; and of which, there are no examples in the history of war.—His method of war did not arise from a sense and fear of danger ; he was well acquainted, and always in the midst of this ; but it arose from his situation and employment, and was perfectly well adapted to it. From his situation and employment as an hunter, he acquired the art of ambuscade and surprize ; and the method with which he could best succeed in taking his game, he found to be the most successful to ensnare and overcome his enemy. The situation and state of the country, overspread with thick forests, lead to the same method. The situation of the tribe, scattered and dispersed in the woods, suggested the same idea. The method of fighting could not be in the open fields, but among the trees. And he wisely placed the point of honour, in the public good ; where the prospect and the probability of his success lay. Had the honour of the Indian warrior been placed, in courting fame and victory in the open field, the whole tribe would have been destroyed by the effusion of blood that must have succeeded. His maxims therefore were better chosen, and they were such as every circumstance in his situation and employment, naturally led him to : Not in an useless ostentation of daring courage and boldness, but in the public utility and advantage. So far as an enterprize depended on secrecy, subtlety, surprize, and impetuosity, the Indian method of war seems to have been fully equal to the European. The Spaniards, the French, the English, and the States of America, have had many and painful proofs of their address and prowess in this method. But when a fort was erected, or a small fortification to be carried, the Indian method of war wholly failed. Neither their arms, their arts, or their customs, were of any avail here. Wholly unacquainted with the art of fortification, they could neither erect, or take

a fort of any strength. When the Europeans had once got possession of any part of their country, and erected a small fortification in their territories, they held it by a sure possession. The savages were wholly unable to dispossess them by their method of war, and nothing was left for them but to retreat further into the forests. In this way the English, and French were making constant advances into their country; and their art of war afforded them no sufficient means, either to prevent or to redress it. But when the Europeans followed them into the woods, where their strength and art might be employed to advantage, the Indians generally surprised and defeated their armies, with great havoc and slaughter.

EDUCATION.—The subsistence and safety of the tribe depended so much upon the hunter, and warrior, that these became of course the most necessary, useful, and honourable professions. When in pursuit of food, the young men put themselves under the direction of the most noted and successful hunter. Going forth to war, they followed the most renowned and successful warrior. Eminence in these professions was the surest way to subsistence, to distinction, to honour, and renown. This was the basis, and formed the whole business of education, among the savages. To train up the youth to address and dexterity in hunting; to make him patient, firm, persevering, in hardship and suffering; inveterate, fierce, and intrepid, in destroying his enemies; was the chief aim and design of the parent. Every thing that had no connexion with this, was neglected and despised. The arts of acquiring knowledge, governing the passions, refining the manners, and cultivating improvements, were unknown and undesired by the savage. He never corrected or restrained his child, taught him to moderate his appetites and passions, to submit to parental, or any other authority: On the contrary he was trained up to take care of himself,

himself, to gratify every inclination and appetite, and to look for food and honour in his own exertions, independence, and superiority. The parent wished and aimed to form his son to hardship and danger, to bear fatigue, famine, and torture, to ensnare and take the game, and to carry destruction and vengeance upon his enemies. To this plan of education, the whole aim and conduct, the instruction, the manners, and the example of the parent, was directed: The only aim and design, was to make the youth an able and accomplished hunter, and warrior. Neither the views of the parent, or the wishes and aims of the child, ever rose any higher, or extended any further than this.

Next to the civil and military regulations, the *customs* and *manners* of the Indians claim our attention. The customs and manners of a nation, always constitute a distinguishing part of the national character; and as they vary with the progress of society, they serve to ascertain, and mark the different stages of it. In several respects, the manners and customs of the Indians were different from those of other people, and are marked with a singularity peculiar to the savage state.

GRAVITY OF APPEARANCE.—A gravity of appearance and countenance always engages our attention, when we are in the company of the Indians. Placed in a situation of constant difficulty and danger, depending altogether upon himself, and having ever before him pursuits, which to him are of the highest importance, the savage becomes extremely grave and serious. Every thing in his appearance and behaviour, is marked with this gravity of aspect. His behaviour to those around him, is decent and modest. His words are few and significant, and generally upon some matter of business; scarcely ever for merriment or diversion. So great is their habit of gravity, seriousness, and silence, that it
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rather bears the appearance of melancholy and sadness.

TREATMENT OF WOMEN.—A promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, scarcely ever took place among the human race. The relation of husband and wife, has been every where understood, adapted, and acknowledged; and this was universally the case among all the tribes of the American Indians. Where the difficulty of procuring subsistence was not easily to be removed, the man had generally but one wife. Where the means of subsistence were in great plenty, and easily to be attained, the savage had often a plurality of wives. But in general, the Indian family consisted of one man and woman, and their children. This union generally subsisted during the lives of the parties; but if it became a matter of choice to separate, the marriage union was dissolved, and no cause or ceremony was necessary, but choice and consent.—It is not until the refinements of society have taken place, that women acquire the rank, consequence, and importance, to which they are so justly entitled. To despise, to degrade, and to abuse them, has been the practice of every nation while it remained in the savage state. Without tenderness, without delicacy, without refinement, the heart of the savage does not look for pleasure in the beauty, chastity, and modesty; in the tenderness, delicacy, and affection; or in the attachment, conversation, and refined manners of the female; but in the labours and menial services she is able to perform. In this stage of society, marriage is not a tender attachment, or a union of refined and delicate affections between the sexes; but altogether an animal inclination, the bare instinct of nature. Placing all excellency in strength and courage, the male views the female as every way inferiour to himself; not fitted for honourable employments, but destined to inferiour purposes and services. Of consequence,
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the condition of women in the savage state becomes degraded, mortifying, and subject to servitude. The savage assigns to his wife the care of the children, the business of labouring in the field, and all the services of domestic care and difficulty. Among the Indians, this degradation of the female was carried to its greatest extreme. Every thing most valuable in food, dress, and ornament, was reserved for the man : The most laborious, fatiguing, and disagreeable services, were assigned to the women. Doomed to incessant toil and slavery, the women perform their perpetual tasks without pity, without compassion, without praise, and without the gratitude of their husbands. To this degraded unhappy state, were the women reduced among all the Indian tribes.

DRESS.—The same pursuit that supplied the Indian with food, provided also his clothing. This was made of the skins and furs of the animals they took in hunting : These served the purposes of covering, and modesty, none of the northern Indians ever appearing naked.—In those nations where opulence and luxury prevail, dress becomes a complicated, a profitable, and a curious art : And beauty acquires new force and power, from ornament and fashion. Hence it becomes a most lucrative business in polished societies, to invent and supply the modes, fashions, materials, and ornaments for dress.—The savage was not without his taste for ornament, and fashion. His hair was dressed in many, and in very singular forms. His nose and ears had pieces of gold, shells, or shining stones, affixed to them. His face and skin were painted, with different colours and figures. And much time was spent to give his countenance the aspect, he aimed at. The design of his dress and ornament was not gallantry, to recommend himself to the female, but rather war ; to appear the object of dignity, majesty, and fear. And what was extremely singular, all the finery and decoration

oration of dress, was reserved for the man. The share that fell to the woman, was only that which remained, when her husband was completely decked. When he was about to join the council of his nation, or was going forth to war, he was most of all solicitous to appear in his richest ornaments, and finest decorations.—A custom prevailed among the Indians, of rubbing and anointing their bodies with grease, oil, and different kinds of gums. These were often mixed with different colours, and formed a very durable paint, or kind of varnish. This may properly be estimated as a part of the Indian dress. And it was well adapted to defend the body, against the extreme moisture and cold of the forest and lake, to protect them against the numerous tribes of insects to which they were exposed, and to check the profuse perspiration to which they were subject, at different times and places.

IDLENESS.—When engaged in hunting and war, the savage appears active, enterprising, and indefatigable. But when these favourite occupations are ended, an universal inactivity, and indolence, take place. The time of the Indian is spent in eating, sleeping, and sitting still. When he applies to any kind of labour, it is with little activity, and with a great aversion. They will spend whole years in making a pipe, forming a canoe, or building a hut. The labours of agriculture, are wholly assigned to the women: Inactive and slothful, the man cannot be roused up to any kind of labour and fatigue. His time is of no value to him: Every thing but hunting and war, is esteemed below his dignity and attention. And of all employments, the lowest and most base, in his view, is digging, toiling, and labouring in the earth.—The most indolent, slothful, and contemptible, in civilized nations, have the same idea of honour and industry; that labour, especially agriculture, is beneath their dignity and honour.

DIRTINESS.—Cleanliness seems to be inseparably connected with industry, and some degree of refinement. Destitute of both, the savages of Northamerica were sunk into the lowest estate of filth and dirtiness. Nothing can exceed the nastiness that appears in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments. The vessels in which they cook and eat their victuals, are never washed. The dirt and grease in their huts, are never removed or swept away. Their garments are never changed or washed, until they wear to rags, and waste away. No idea of cleanliness seems to have entered into their minds. This seems to be one of the customs, common to all savages : Inactive and lazy, they are all extremely filthy and dirty.

GAMING.—Gaming is an amusement, to which indolence and want of employment naturally lead. Above the occupations of labour, and without a taste for useful employments, many in civilized life seek a relief in gaming, for the pains of indolence ; and for a method, to move and agitate a languid band. Moved by the same cause and motive, the savage also falls to gaming, as the most favourite amusement : Indolent and lifeless in all the exertions of labour, he becomes deeply engaged, impetuous, and noisy in play. Every thing he possesses, is staked at these diversions ; and he loses his peace, his senses, and all that he is worth. But these amusements do not issue in contention and quarrels : Though carried on with a frantic eagerness, they are generally managed, and terminate in good humour and peace.

SONGS.—Averse to all abstruse meditations, the Indians are much delighted with songs. To an European ear, their songs do not afford much entertainment ; nor can such discern harmony, melody, or any variety in their tunes. However this may be, the savages are always delighted with music. Their songs are of a grave and serious turn. They
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never relate to the concerns of gallantry and love, but to their most serious employments. They have songs for war, songs for victory, and songs for death. Each of them is designed to excite and call forth the sentiments, feelings, and passions, that such occasions require ; and they have a great influence on their feelings, and actions. Amidst the severest sufferings of death, this is the resort of the savage ; and when burning at the stake, the last consolation, is to sing the song of triumph and death.

DANCING.—Dancing has been one of the favourite amusements of all nations. In civilized societies this amusement is designed to promote a refinement of manners ; and serves to excite the sensibility, and delicacy, which attaches and refines the sexes. Dancing is also the favourite employment of the savage, in every part of the globe. It calls forth his active powers, which, when unemployed, languish and decay for want of exercise. And in no employment, does he become more animated, vigorous, and eager.—Instead of being an amusement, an affair of gallantry, love, or refinement, dancing, among the savages, is a ceremony of great importance and seriousness. With this ceremony war is declared, an ambassador is received, and peace is concluded. It is by a dance, that every important transaction in public or private life, is celebrated.—Their dances are generally carried on by the men, and it is but seldom that the women are permitted to join in them. All the steps, figures, and motions of the dance, are expressive ; and significant of the business or transaction, it is designed to denote. If war is to be proclaimed, the dance is expressive of the resentment and rage they bear to their enemies, and of the hostile manner, in which they mean to treat them. If a party are going forth against their enemies, the dance of war is to be performed. In this, the transactions of the whole campaign are to be expressed.

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The warriors are represented as departing from their country, entering that of the enemy, surprising and conquering their foes, seizing prisoners, scalping the dead, and returning in triumph to the applause of their country. The performers appear to be agitated with all the natural passions and feelings, that take place in any of these scenes. The caution, the secrecy, the fierceness and cruelty of the warriors, is represented in a natural and animated manner. The whole is designed to excite those passions and feelings in the warrior, which it is designed to represent. And so quick, exact, and dreadful, is the representation, that the uninformed spectator is struck with horror, and looks to see the ground covered with mangled limbs, and slaughtered bodies.—If peace is made, this is also celebrated by a dance. The ambassadors and the warriors smoke in the same pipe, and join together in the same dance. The dance is adapted to signify that the hatchet is buried, that the blood is all washed away, and that the ghosts of the slain are appeased, and at rest; and that both nations are now to live, in all the friendship and familiarity of brotherhood. Thus instead of being barely an amusement and diversion, dancing among the Indians, is a very important and serious ceremony; designed to represent some important transaction, and to inspire those feelings and passions, which it should naturally produce.—Is it not remarkable, that among the savages in the first stage of society, dancing should be adapted to public and national purposes; that all the steps, figures, and motions of it, should be arts of imitation; and that among civilized nations, all the steps and motions should be without design, insignificant, and without any meaning at all?

BEARD.—The customs and methods of different nations, have been various and different, respecting their beards. Some have carefully preserved them

as the tokens of manhood, gravity, and majesty. Others have curled, twisted, and braided them, to give the appearance of elegance and beauty : Others have entirely cut them off, as an useless incumbrance ; and to acquire greater softness, mildness, and amiableness of appearance. These different customs and fashions, do not appear to be derived from any permanent cause, or instinct founded in nature ; but to be matters of fancy, superstition, convenience, or vanity. — In this respect the Indians had a custom, different from those of other nations. It is their universal and constant practice, to pluck them out by the roots ; and to destroy, as far as possible, the appearance of any beard at all. Every man has an instrument made for this purpose : It consists of a wire, twisted round a stick, in such a manner as to draw the hair out of the flesh, and extract the root. The Indian carries such an instrument with him : And it makes a regular and constant part, of what he esteems his dress, to extract and destroy his beard. So fond are they of this custom, that whenever the Indian can obtain a looking-glass, his first business is to examine his face, and with this kind of tweezer, pluck out all the hairs he can discover. They generally recommend this custom to their captives, as what would increase their beauty, and destroy their hairy appearance, which the savage greatly dislikes.

Some philosophers have supposed, that the beardless countenance of the Indian, is derived not from custom, but from nature : That the Indian is without any beard, or hair on any part of his body, except the eyebrows and head : That this arises from a defect in the powers and vigour of nature ; and is an evidence of weakness, impotency, and want of manhood.* The fact, and the conclusion, are both mistakes.

* Buffon, Kaims, Robertson, &c.

mistakes. Nature is the same in the Indian, as it is in the European : And on whatever part of the body it has assigned hair to the one, it has given it to the other. I am assured of this from those who have slain, stripped, and buried their warriors : I have the same information from those, who have been their captives ; and who have seen all the members of an Indian family, dressed and undressed, and in all situations. The same is asserted by those, who have lived among the civilized tribes, and been called to perform offices of humanity, to the Indians of each sex. The beardless countenance of the Indian then, is not to be ranked among the curious and extraordinary phenomena of nature, but is to be placed among the customs peculiar to the Indian tribes.

DRUNKENNESS.—Drunkenness is one of those vices, which prevail among a rude and uncultivated people. The savages of Northamerica, are universally addicted to it. Before they were acquainted with the Europeans, they had discovered a composition, or liquor, of an inebriating nature, made out of maize or Indian corn. But the difficulty of procuring a large quantity of this liquor, prevented any general intemperance, or excess. No sooner had they tasted of the spirituous liquors brought by the Europeans, than they contracted *a new appetite*, which they were wholly unable to govern. The Europeans found it the most lucrative branch of the Indian trade, to gratify this inclination. With an avidity of desire altogether uncontrollable, the Indians fell into the snare. The first object of inquiry with them, was, whether the trader had brought any brandy or rum ; and no considerations could restrain them in the use of it. The old and the young, the sachem, the warrior, and the women, whenever they can obtain strong liquors, indulge themselves without moderation, and without decency,

cy, until universal drunkenness takes place. All the tribes whether placed in a temperate, or in a severe climate, appear to be under the dominion, and unable to govern this appetite.

An effect so universal and similar, must have as general and universal a cause. The cause will be found to have a deep and a strong foundation, in their manner, custom, and habit of living. Their constant method of living, was on raw or boiled meat, and fresh water. This did not satisfy the desires of nature; and naturally produced an appetite for every thing, which was astringent, stimulating, and inflammatory. When they met with ardent spirit, they found that, which is the most highly gratifying to such an appetite. The hardships and sufferings to which the Indian was exposed, their want of comfortable refreshments and support, and the extremes of heat, cold, and moisture, to which they were subject, were constantly adding new force, to an appetite already excessive. Few of the white people, who have been reduced to such a situation for a few months, have been able to preserve their temperance. The Indian proved wholly inadequate to the trial. Unaccustomed to lay any restraint on his appetites and passions, and unable to bear but a small quantity of the liquor, to which he had been unused, he is overcome upon the first trial. His appetite, the more inflamed by irregular enjoyment, becomes more keen and raging, until extreme excess puts it out of his power to indulge himself any longer. Nothing but a total change of the whole method of his living, will enable him to preserve that temperance and regularity, which to a person surrounded with all the comforts of life, is an easy and a common attainment.

CRUELTY.—There are no passions in the human mind, which operate with so much force and fierceness, as those of anger and revenge. The customs
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and maxims of polished societies, with all the aid of their laws and religion, have not as yet been able to give a due regulation or restraint to these passions. In many cases, an offended individual cannot be made to believe, but what it is right and best for him, to be the judge and the avenger of his own injuries ; and that it is the mark of meanness, to leave it to the laws of society, to make a proper retaliation to the wrongs he has received. Higher attainments must yet be made in the state of society, before an adequate restraint and regulation will be found for these passions.—In the breast of a savage, they rage without any controul : Instead of being taught any restraint, the young savage is taught in early life, to gratify and indulge them. The whole force of education, example, custom, habit, and manner of living, operate with a decisive influence, to give them new force and vigour. By the government of the tribe, the revenge of injuries is left in the hands of every individual ; and to be patient and moderate, is the highest mark of meanness and want of spirit. To give further force to the spirit of vengeance, all the maxims and customs of war, have placed the point of honour, in rendering the spirit of revenge, implacable, unabating, and such as never can be satisfied, subdued, or lost. Aided by all these motives and considerations, anger and revenge, become fierce, brutal, horrid, bloody, and implacable passions, in the breast of the savage : More like the destructive rage of a beast of prey, than like a passion in the heart of a human being.—The effect, is a barbarous and unrelenting cruelty : Far from pitying, sparing, or forgiving, the savage aims at the ruin, destruction, and utter extermination of his enemies. Hence the method of carrying on his war, was to destroy men, women, and children : To plunder and burn their towns, and villages : To torture and torment their prisoners : And to sweep off whole tribes, with an universal

universal and undistinguished carnage. This seems to have been the wish and aim of every tribe, when they engaged in war. A barbarous, unrelenting cruelty, distinguished and marked all their steps.

The cruelty of the Indian seems to have arisen from the passions of anger and revenge. It is not to be denied but that there are other passions, which have carried civilized nations, to the same dreadful extremes in cruelty.—*Avarice* led the Spaniards to perpetrate more enormous crimes and cruelty upon the Indians, than the Indians were ever capable of returning. The scene of promiscuous calamity, destruction, murder, and butchery, which the Spaniards carried through all parts of Southamerica, in the number, design, degree, duration, variety, and enormity of its cruelties, far exceeded any thing that was ever perpetrated by the Indians. If we are to believe the declarations of a celebrated modern statesman,* the avarice of a company of merchants, has murdered millions and millions of mankind, by starving them to death in *Bengal*.—The spirit of *superstition* and *bigotry*, is equally cruel and unrelenting. The murders of the inquisition subsisted for centuries: They were sanctioned by law, and are not yet done away. Imprisonment, confiscation, and death in its most awful forms, were the punishments which bigots, whenever they had power, never failed to inflict with great pleasure, upon those who were wise and virtuous enough to oppose them. The massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572, was one of the most barbarous and horrid of all human transactions. In the midst of the most polite city in Europe, the king, princes, nobility, and priests, turned monsters, assassins, and butchers; and murdered thirty thousand of their fellow men, on account of their religion. Their rage was attended

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* Mr. Burke.

with circumstances of inhuman cruelty and barbarity, far exceeding the fierce and bloody passions of the savages of America.—Our own countrymen ought not to forget, that *revenge* has also transported them into a conduct, equally inhuman and barbarous as that of the Indians. At the conclusion of the Indian war, in 1676, the government tried several of their captives, by the English laws: Some were condemned, and executed upon the gallows; and others were sent to consume their days, in the slavery of the Westindian islands: A punishment, to them more severe than death.

In the cruelty and barbarity of the Indian, man appears in a situation but little removed from the brutal ferocity of the beast of prey. But when avarice, bigotry, and revenge, produce the same infernal spirit among civilized nations, cruelty appears with a more diabolical aspect; not like the rage of wild beasts, but like the fury and vengeance of a combination of apostate spirits.—The progress of knowledge, humanity, and refinement, will afford the only effectual remedy for this evil.

Such were the regulations, customs, and manners of the Indians, the original men of America. They have been viewed by philosophers, in the most opposite and contrary lights. Some have supposed that the Indians were in the infancy of existence, that the whole continent of America was but lately raised out of the sea, and that her inhabitants were in a state of degradation, unworthy to be compared with the men of the more ancient and improved hemisphere.* On the contrary, others have contended that in the rudest and most simple state, man attains an independence, a dignity, and a nobleness of mind, which is never found, but is always lost, amidst the refinements of polished societies: That
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* Buffon.

the highest dignity and nobleness of man, is derived solely from nature, and is always debased and corrupted by polish, refinement, and the arts.*—To view this subject in its proper light, it will be necessary to compare the savage with the civilized state, and to mark the various *Advantages*, and *Disadvantages* of it.

THE SAVAGE STATE FAVOURABLE TO THE HEALTH, ACTIVITY, AND VIGOUR OF THE BODY.—Among the *advantages* that were connected with the savage state, it may justly be esteemed one, and a matter of much importance, that it was favourable to the vigour, activity, and health of the body. It is by exertion and exercise, that the body acquires its most improved state of activity, firmness, vigour, and health. Accustomed to range the forests in quest of game, the Indian acquired an habit and activity in travelling, that exceeded that of any other people. In the expedition, swiftness, and perseverance of his course, he much exceeds the European.—No people bear hardship, suffering, and fatigue so well: The extremities of heat and cold, of hunger and thirst, of bad weather, and of bad accommodations, are perfectly familiar to the Indian: And he bears them with a much less effect upon his constitution, than the men who have been used to better accommodations.—Unaccustomed to the steady and regular employments of agriculture, his body does not acquire the strength that the Europeans have. And when the exertion, is an exertion of strength, and steady labour, the white man is found to be the strongest. Those only of the Indians, who have been educated and trained up to steady and hard work, are equal to the white men in bodily strength. In running the race, and in bearing hardship, the Indian exceeds; but in strength of body, and bearing hard and steady labour, he is generally unequal to the European.

In respect to health, the savage state seems fully equal to the civilized. Used to all the variations of the weather and climate, he suffered but little from such changes. The diseases to which the Indians were subject, were chiefly those which arose from exercise, hardships, and fatigues. Fevers, the asthma, and paralytic disorders, made the capital articles in the history of the Indian diseases. But that numerous and fearful train of maladies, which arise from luxury, sloth, intemperance, and want of exercise, were unnamed, and unknown among the Indian tribes.—In their villages there seemed to be a greater number of decayed and aged persons, than are generally to be found among an equal number of white people. But as they had not the art of numbers and computation, no exact accounts could be procured of their age. This article rests therefore rather upon appearance, and indication derived from decrepit and shrivelled bodies, than from any proper and authentic accounts of the years and longevity, to which they attain. All appearances however seem to indicate, that activity, vigour, health, and age, were to be found to great advantage in the savage state.

FAVOURABLE TO FIRMNESS AND FORTITUDE OF MIND.—The situation and employment that promoted the vigour and health of the body, tended to produce independence, firmness, and fortitude in the mind. Inured to suffering, hardship, and danger, the mind of the savage was formed to an habitual firmness, and courage. His mind became composed and collected in critical and dangerous situations: And he suffered but little from apprehensions of fear.—The spirit of freedom and independence, was cultivated and confirmed by every circumstance attending his education, employment, and reputation. Neither corrected nor checked in his early years, retarded or stopped in any pursuit, he knew
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of no controul, or restraint. Master of his own actions, and never wishing to moderate his passions, the spirit of freedom and independence took the entire possession of his soul. Moved by, and perpetually conscious of this independent spirit, he acted in circumstances of distress, and danger, with amazing force and magnanimity of mind.—But that which the savage esteemed his greatest glory and highest dignity, was his fortitude and bravery. To bear hardship, to endure suffering, to be unmoved in the midst of torment, and to rise superiour to any thing that could be laid upon him; this, was the highest honour, and the noblest attainment of the warrior. And in this, it is not to be denied, that the human mind attained in the savage state, a fortitude and a magnanimity that it does not attain, amidst the refinements, customs, and maxims of polished nations.

Amazed at the firmness and fortitude, which the savage displays in the most dreadful of all situations, several philosophers have aimed to discover some apathy, some natural defect, or want of sensibility in his frame, which qualified him to bear pain with less feeling, and with more fortitude, than other men. There is no such defect in his constitution. His magnanimity arises from a sense and principle of honour. This is the first principle he is taught; the sole object of his education, profession, and pursuit. Amidst the rudeness and hardihood of the savage state, this principle acts with more force and vigour upon the human mind, than it ever acquires amidst the refinements and softness of a more polished state of society. Refinement, and the arts, soften and relax the mind; philosophy debilitates the body, while it aims to correct all rudeness and excess, in the mind, and to give it a just habit and tone of thinking and acting: But in the rudeness of the savage state, every thing concurs to give an unaltered firmness to the body, and to the mind; the principle

ciple of honour has nothing to oppose or relax it. And it will be in the most hardy body and mind; that nature and honour will act with the greatest force and vigour. The principles of religion only, have ever produced a similar phenomenon. The heroic spirit of the martyr, undaunted and triumphant in the torture, and in the flame, has alone exceeded or equalled the fortitude and magnanimity of the man of nature.

FAVOURABLE TO POLITICAL TALENTS, AND VIRTUES.—The savage state was also friendly to some of the political talents and virtues. *The love of his country*, derived from nature, cherished by education, ambition, precept, and example, became a very powerful principle in the breast of a savage. His affections were confined to the limits of his own tribe, and his views never extended any further. His glory terminated in the services he could render to it: And the greatest of all attainments was to expand the national fame, reputation, and conquests. To this he became attached by birth, education, and interest; by ambition, honour, and a thirst for glory. Every passion that glowed in the breast of the savage, served to increase and add strength to the love of his country. No motives of ambition, gain, revenge, or policy, ever lead him to betray its interests or councils, to desert to the enemy, or to prove a traitor to the country and tribe, that gave him birth. This principle connected together the members of the same tribe: It seems to have taken the deepest root, to have acted with the greatest force, and to have been the least corrupted, in the savage state.

When the interests of their country were to be considered, much *prudence* and *wisdom* were displayed in their councils. The chiefs and elders consulted with great deliberation, seriousness, and calmness; and without any appearance of provocation, resentment,

ment, or impatience at contradiction and opposition. Every proposal was considered; the probable effects and consequences, advantages and disadvantages, were examined and weighed. No heat, anger, ill nature, or reflections upon one another, but perfect calmness prevailed: And that conclusion was embraced, which appeared to be most beneficial to the tribe. Those of the Europeans who have attended these councils of the savages, have compared them to the accounts historians have given us, of the proceedings of the senates in the ancient republics.* They bore the appearance of solemnity, gravity, and deliberation. In these councils, *integrity* and *public virtue* was always preserved. The objects they had to determine, were not of a trivial or insignificant nature: They were those, which involve all that is the most dear, valuable, and important to man, in any stage of society. The preservation and protection of their property; the safety and the lives of their wives, children, and fathers; the existence, the independence, and the freedom of their country. The councils of civilized nations may be employed upon objects of a much greater extent; but they never can contemplate objects of more importance, of greater value, or of a higher nature. In attending to them the mind of the savage became composed, sedate, grave, and serious. He had no private interest to corrupt him; no broken fortune to be repaired; nothing to be expected from the misfortunes of his country; from lucrative jobs, posts of honour and profit; from the management of the public wealth; or from the weakness, prejudice, and favourite passions of a prince. No emoluments or advantages could accrue to him, but those of the public good. In such a situation, corruption would not enter into the councils of the savages. There was nothing to be gained by intrigue, dissimulation, or knavery.

* Charlevoix iii. 26. Smith's Hist. Newyork, p. 53. Phil. Edit.

knavery. All the advantages that could arise to individuals, must arise from the general good of the tribe. And where there was nothing to be gained by corruption, there was nothing left for their counsellors, but to display their greatest wisdom, integrity, and public virtue.

The nature of their government and councils was also favourable to *eloquence*, and the art of *public speaking*. This seems to have been the only art, in which the Indian rose to any eminence. Unable to remember an irregular unconnected discourse, the Indian was extremely fond of regularity and method. When he spoke, his speech was short and laconic; and the meaning was conveyed in bold and strong metaphors. When they return an answer, they repeat the whole that has been said to them, and reduce it into a strict and regular order. Their words are but few; the language strong, and figurative; the figures expressive, vigorous, and bold; their manner, grave and animating; the tone, determined and decisive; and the sentiment they mean to convey, so clearly expressed, that they are never misunderstood. An historian who was present at several of their conferences with the English, gives this account of the appearance and manners of their orators, "Their speakers deliver themselves with surprising force, and great propriety of gesture. The fierceness of their countenances, the flowing blanket, elevated tone, naked arm, and erect stature, with a half circle of auditors seated on the ground, and in the open air, cannot but impress upon the mind, a lively idea of the ancient orators of Greece and Rome."*—Some of their speeches in manliness of sentiment, in the force of expression, and in the elegance of the arrangement, have been fully equal to the productions of the Grecian, Roman, or British eloquence. And in no case does

* Smith's Hist. of New York, p. 53.

does language acquire such force and vigour, as when it is the dictate of the passions and feelings of nature, in her rude and uncultivated state.

It was by the combination of these virtues and abilities, that the savage rose to public honours, employment, and distinction. The bravest and the wisest became the leader, and the sachem. No other arts could secure the public esteem and favour, but superiour abilities and exploits. The ancients generally numbered good fortune, among the most necessary qualifications of their heroes. The Indians adapted this idea in its full force, and extent. Without distinguished bravery and success, the private man was never promoted at all : If he proved an unfortunate and unsuccessful leader, he soon lost all his influence and reputation.

In these maxims and customs of the savage state, there were constant and powerful motives, to the exertion of all their political talents and virtues : And there was much less intrigue and corruption in those public proceedings, which related to their own tribe, than there generally is in the transactions of civilized societies.

FAVOURABLE TO THE EXERCISE OF SOME VIRTUES.—Several of the vices that prevail among polished nations, were seldom to be found among the Indians ; and there were some virtues, to the exercise of which, the savage state was not unfriendly. The hospitality which the ancients celebrated so much, was of great importance and use in the early stages of society. When the stranger and traveller could find no accommodation or protection, but in the kindness of those on whom he called for relief, hospitality became a virtue of the highest use and excellency : The business and convenience of life, could not have been easily carried on without it. As society became improved, the stranger found in the protection of laws, and in the use of money, that

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relief, which he before derived from the hospitality of the age. In polished nations the necessity, and the existence of this virtue, have in a great measure ceased. Among the savages it prevailed to an high degree, and acted with its full force. The Europeans every where found the most friendly and cordial reception, when they first came among the savages; and from their hospitality, they derived all the assistance the savages could afford them. It was not until disputes and differences had taken place, that the Indians became unfriendly. Even now, an unarmed defenceless stranger, that repairs to them for relief and protection, is sure to find safety and assistance in their hospitality.—The friendship of the Indian, is always a very strong and vigorous affection. His passions unsubdued, undisciplined, and ungoverned, always act with great force and vigour: Whatever be the object of them, the passion itself is always impetuous and strong. No bounds are set to his resentment and revenge, when injured; and no length of time, will obliterate the memory of a favour. The same impetuosity and perseverance, with which he pursues his enemy, is employed to assist and preserve his friend. In this respect, the Indian attachments have fully equalled any thing that is to be found, in the history of man. Several of their best concerted expeditions have failed, through the anxiety of an individual to preserve a friend from the common vengeance and destruction.

Trained up to the most refined cunning and dissimulation in war, the Indian carries nothing of this into the affairs of commerce; but is fair, open, and honest in his trade. He was accustomed to no falsehood or deception, in the management of his barter. And he was astonished at the deceit, knavery, and fraud of the European traders.—He had no bolts or locks to guard against stealing, nor did he

he ever conceive his property was in any danger of being stolen, by any of his tribe. All that train of infamous and unmanly vices, which arise from avarice, were almost unknown to the savage state.—Lying and falsehood were viewed with horror, and detestation. When they found these vices common among some of the Europeans, the Indians viewed them as a corrupt and odious race ; in whose truth, justice, and declarations, no faith could be placed. They had no name for adultery, or rape. Quarrelling, contention, and discord, with their numerous ill effects, were but little known among the members of the same tribe.

Their morality, confined to a few objects, admitted of fewer vices than the civilized state. Where no wants are known but those of nature, and the way to supply those wants is the same, and open to all ; the individuals of the same society, will live in a friendly and cordial manner together ; without many grounds of strife, and without much temptation to injure each other. In the language of the Indians, this is denominated a state of brotherhood : In this state, the moral sense will join its influence with the social affections, to prevent injuries, evils, and vices ; and to restrain the members of the tribe, from violating the rules of morality. As such a state does not admit of many of the virtues of civilized nations, it is also in a great measure free, from many of their most dangerous vices.

In such respects, the savage state seems to have had advantages peculiar to itself ; and to have produced effects, which are not to be expected among civilized nations. But before we decide on its operation and tendency, it will be necessary to examine the *disadvantages*, to which it is subject ; with their influence, and effect on society.

THE SAVAGE STATE UNFAVOURABLE TO ALL INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENTS.—As one disadvantage

vantage of the savage state, it has constantly proved unfavourable to all intellectual improvements and exertions. Occupied solely with hunting and war, the savage had no idea or wish for any intellectual attainment, which was not immediately connected with his favourite professions. Neither his reason, nor his invention, appear to have been much exercised upon any object, not suggested by his necessities.—Taking the game, and subduing his enemy, did not depend on the knowledge of letters. The transactions of his ancestors, were not of much importance to him : He had no code of laws, no evidences of property, or any public transactions to be recorded. With these arts, of so much importance to civilized nations, but of little consequence to the Indians, they were wholly unacquainted ; and had not made any advance towards the discovery of letters. The only thing which they appeared anxious to record, was the exploits of their warriors. When a party of these had met with uncommon success, it was often the case that they made some very rough figures or inscriptions upon the trees, to represent the direction of their march, the number of enemies which they had slain, and taken captive.* These kind of inscriptions were sometimes made upon the rocks. A number of such figures are yet to be seen upon the rocks at the mouth of West river in this state. They seem to allude to the affairs of war, but their rudeness and awkwardness denotes that the formers of them were at a great remove from the knowledge of any alphabet.—The art of numbering and computation, is an elementary and essential art in every nation where business is transacted, or any considerable intercourse and commerce is carried on. But the savage had nothing to number, that was of much importance to him. He had no treasures to count ;

* Sir W. Johnson's account : Phil. Transf. Vol, LXIII, page 143.

count ; no property, the value of which, was to be computed ; nor any variety of objects, the number and value of which, must be expressed by figures. Arithmetic would therefore have been an useless art to the Indian ; and he had not made any attempt to attain it. They could count as far as ten or twenty ; all beyond this, was compared to the number of the trees, or the hair on their heads.—The only objects, on which the Indian had employed his reason, were those of external sense ; such as are material or corporeal, the idea of which is received by the senses. They had no name for any of the sciences, or for abstract and universal ideas. Time, space, duration, substance, and all those terms, which are used to represent abstract and universal ideas, appear to have been unknown ; and probably never were the objects of their inquiry, contemplation, or thought.

The ideas of religion, were extremely weak and obscure in the savage. Our *Maker* has not left us to a course of metaphysical reasoning upon the connexion between cause and effect, to come to the knowledge of his existence. Long before men become capable of such exercises of the reasoning powers, they believe in the existence of a *Deity*. A sense of his being, seems to be inscribed upon the human mind. And probably no tribe has ever been found, that had not the idea of some superiour powerful being. Whether this was the object of fear, or of love, or however it was represented, the idea of a superiour being seems to have been common and general among all nations. It takes place in the mind, before we are capable of reasoning about cause and effect : And it seems to be derived from a revelation ; which the *Deity* hath made of himself to man. In the constitution of the human mind, in its feelings, passions and motions, a sense of the *Deity* seems to be interwoven, instamped, and inscribed.

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And this revelation becomes more clear, plain, and intelligible, according to the manner and degree in which it is improved. Among the Indians, it appeared in its weakest and most obscure state. They denominated the Deity, *the Great Spirit, the Great Man above* ; and seemed to have some general, but very obscure ideas of his government, providence, universal power, and dominion.

The immortality of the soul, was every where admitted among the Indian tribes. The sentiment itself results from our fears, hopes, and feelings. Man is scarcely ever degraded and sunk so low, but that he hopes and believes that death will not prove the extinction of his being. This sentiment prevailed in every part of America. The Indians so firmly believed it, that it was their general custom to bury with the dead, their bows, their arrows, their spears, and some venison, that they might not be wholly unprepared to begin their course with advantage, in another state. There might be a few exceptions, but the general sentiment was nearly the same in every part of the continent.

But both these sentiments, the existence of a God, and the immortality of the soul, were nothing more in the savage, than the dictate and voice of nature. They were not the objects of his inquiry, discourse, reasoning, or contemplation. The Indians had made no improvements, no cultivation of the gifts of nature and providence ; and they had very little influence on any part of his conduct. They had not produced any domestic, or public devotion ; any form, rite, or mode of worship ; or any system of manners and customs, favourable to national virtue and religion. Without a priest, without a temple, sacrifice, or altar, the Indian was sunk under the thickest gloom of ignorance, superstition, and stupidity. His reason, never employed on any intellectual attainment or exertion, he remained in a state of nature ;

nature ; wholly unacquainted with every thing derived from the exercise, improvement, and cultivation of the powers of the mind. Neither his reason, or his desires, ever moved or tended towards any such improvements : And so long as hunting should have continued to be the mode of his subsistence, so long it is probable, he would have remained at a distance from every intellectual attainment.

ADMITS OF BUT FEW VIRTUES.—It was another disadvantage of the savage state, that it did not admit of but few virtues. The moral sense, or conscience, makes part of our natural constitution ; and is as essential to man, as his appetites and passions, as his countenance and form. When this is not corrupted or perverted, its dictates are clear and right, and do not tend to mislead us : And its dictates are never more clear and certain, than when they are the genuine and simple voice of nature. There were fewer temptations and there were fewer vices in the savage state, to corrupt and pervert the moral sense, than there are in a polished state of society : But there were also fewer motives, occasions, and opportunities for virtue. Reverence and respect to the Deity, had little place or effect on the uncultivated mind of the savage. There was nothing in his situation to produce those offices of kindness, and tenderness, which soften the heart, and sweeten the intercourse of life, in the civilized state. The sullen pride of independence, was the strongest passion in the heart of the Indian ; and it left but little room, for tender and generous affections to others. Depending solely upon himself, the heart of the savage contracts an insensibility, an hardness, a roughness, very unfavourable to social connexions. Expecting no offices of kindness from others, he was very little employed in relieving the distresses, supplying the wants, or gratifying the desires of others. In a heart thus contracted, but few virtues will reside.

sive. The natural affections will remain, and may become strong and vigorous : But the divine, social, and human virtues, find an unfriendly soil ; become few in their number, and weak in their operation.

NO ATTAINMENTS IN THE ARTS.—Those arts, which are the most necessary and useful to men in the civil state, were almost wholly unknown among the savages.—To provide a covering to defend the body against heat, cold, and moisture, is one of the first arts that man must have attended to. The Indian had gone no further in this primary and essential art, than to apply the skins and furs of animals to this purpose. The art of spinning, knitting, and weaving, were wholly unknown to the northern Indians. They had no other materials to cover and clothe their bodies, than what were derived from hunting.—Architecture of some kind and form, must unavoidably engage the attention of men, in every climate and country. The attainments of the Indians in this art, were the lowest that can be conceived. Their buildings were nothing more than a few temporary and wretched huts, put together without order, strength, or convenience. Some crotched stakes were thrust into the ground : These were connected by poles, laid from the one to the other ; and the whole was covered with the bark, limbs, and leaves of the trees. An aperture was left at the top, for the conveyance of smoke ; and the fire was kindled in the middle. This was called a cabin or wigwam, and was without windows, doors, or any division of apartments. This was the highest elegance and convenience, the house of the Indian had attained.

The progress of the arts, depends very much on the instruments and tools, with which the artificers are furnished. Most of these among civilized nations are derived from the application, and use of
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the metals ; particularly that of iron. From this metal is formed almost every instrument, that is employed in peace, or in war. Civilized nations have availed themselves of the discovery and use of this metal, in every kind of art that they pursue. The Indian was in no capacity to arrive to such an improvement. Copper, silver, and gold, have been found in their perfect state, in the rocks, mountains, and rivers ; and were the metals, which were first known and used. But nature never completes the formation of iron. It must pass through two or three tedious operations by fire, before it appears in its perfect and useful form. With the former metals, the Indians in some parts of America, were well acquainted : But of the nature and use of iron, all of them were wholly ignorant.—Destitute of this capital advantage, all their tools and instruments to an European, would have been wholly useless. Their axe was made of a sharpened stone. Their knife was formed out of a shell, or bone. Every other instrument was equally impotent, and ill contrived.—The arms they had contrived for defence, or attack, were equally feeble and awkward : A club made of hard wood, a stake hardened in the fire, a lance armed with a flint or a bone, a bow and an arrow, constituted the whole artillery of an Indian war. Of domestic utensils and household furniture, they had nothing that deserved the name. A bed, a chair, a table, a pot, a kettle, or an oven, were wholly unknown. Their bread was baked on the coals. Their meat was broiled in the same manner. Their greatest art in cookery, was their method of boiling their food. A piece of wood, or a stone, with extreme labour, was formed into a hollow, and filled with water ; and this water was made to boil, by throwing into it stones heated red hot.

The greatest performance of the Indian genius, was the construction of his canoe. With infinite

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labour, they sometimes hollowed out a tree, and gave it a form adapted to the purpose of navigation. In a canoe thus formed, four or five Indians would pass a river, a large lake, or a dangerous rapid, with much safety, and dexterity. Another kind of canoe, was formed out of the bark of the elm, or birch. This was the work of but a few days, and was extremely light and convenient. It was of sufficient dimensions, to carry four or five Indians; and so light, that one of them could easily carry it on his back. The dexterity of his management, the swiftness of his voyage, and the safety with which the Indians pass the falls, rapids, and waves in this kind of boat, has appeared surprising to those persons, who were best acquainted with the arts of navigation. And it seems to have been the highest attainment, to which the genius or invention of the Indian, had ever arisen.

In the application and use of particular vegetable, animal, and mineral substances, the Indians seem to have had some information, which ought to have been more attended to, and better ascertained. They certainly knew of some substances which gave the most vivid and permanent colours; and of others which contained the most subtle, active, and powerful poisons. In several cases of poisons, wounds, and some other disorders, the Indians had the knowledge of very valuable medicines: And they derived support, refreshment, and medicine, from several plants and vegetables, in which the English had not discovered any such virtues or qualities. The knowledge of such facts, was the result of such observations, as experience naturally produced. But as the Indian never attempted to improve any information which he had, and knew of no method to preserve it but tradition, he made small advances in this kind of knowledge; and it was rather a matter of secrecy, than of investigation. Nor was there any thing in his

his situation, or employment, adapted to call forth the latent powers of his mind, and to produce the spirit of inquiry and improvement.

VERY UNFAVOURABLE TO POPULATION.—A disadvantage still more unfavourable attended the savage state, it tended much to retard population. From the earliest histories of Virginia, it has been computed that the number of Indians in that part of the continent, did not amount to more than one for every square mile.* I do not find any account, which will lead us to estimate the number of Indians in New-england, at a higher ratio than this.—In those parts of the United States where the farms are well managed, a farm of one hundred acres will well support a family of ten persons. This amounts to sixty four persons, on one square mile. The Indian population then, compared to what has already taken place in those parts of the United States, which are well settled and cultivated, was in no higher a proportion than one to sixty four. A difference so unfavourable to the production of life, denotes some essential defect in the savage state.

Population depends upon a variety of circumstances, all of which are never found to concur, in favour of any people. In the state and situation of the Indians, there were fewer circumstances favourable to population, than in any other state of society.—In the constitution, form, and vigour of his body, nature was bountiful to the Indian. In the dimensions and size of his body, in the proportion and perfection of all his limbs, members, and organs, he rather exceeded than fell short of the European. All that have been acquainted with the savages, have been struck with this circumstance. In no race of men, has the human body appeared to be better formed, more nicely adjusted, or to be more perfectly proportioned in all its members and parts. No deficiency there-
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* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 100.

fore, arose from any impotency, or want of vigour, in any of the powers of nature.

But whatever may be the original powers of nature, they are weakened and impaired without proper food, and nourishment: And it is only, where suitable and nutritive food is to be obtained in regular and sufficient quantities; that animals will become the most prolific. In this respect, the situation and state of the savage, was greatly unfavourable to increase and population. Destitute of any certain or regular food and nourishment, the Indians suffered severely this way. At one period, all was gluttony and excess; at another famine and hunger became extreme and distressing. The heaviest part of this distress fell upon the women, who were the least able to bear it: And at no time did they enjoy that regular and steady supply of food, which nature required. In the male, this tended to impair the animal passion: In the female, it tended not only to weaken it, but to render it greatly dangerous to indulge it. Its effects were still worse upon the pregnant; and often destroyed the increase and fruit of nature, before the birth.

The manner in which the Indians procured their food, was equally unfavourable to population, as the uncertainty and irregularity of it. Destitute of a fixed settlement and abode, the savage spent the hunting season in wandering through the forests in quest of game, and generally carried his family with him. Their women must climb the mountains, wade through the rivers, force their way in the thickets of the forest, sleep upon the wet ground in the open air, and carry their children with them; and amidst all these fatigues and distresses, were often without food for several days, and always without comfortable refreshment. Instead of being in any degree prolific, the white women would have all perished in such a situation. The wonder is, not why population should have

have been so small, but how it should subsist at all, in such a situation. If the constitution of the savage had not been uncommonly strong and vigorous, not only the animal passion, but all the powers of nature would have ceased and become extinct, by such continued scenes of fatigue and distress.

The constancy and perpetuity of their wars, had also a fatal influence on population. The irruption of an enemy desolated their cultivated lands, disturbed them in their hunting exertions, and destroyed all the little stock of provisions they had saved. The women and children had no place of refuge, but to conceal themselves in the woods, and mountains; where many of them must perish for want of food, and all of them must be in a suffering and distressed condition. In the whole catalogue of human woes, it is not possible to conceive of any state more distressing, than that of a pregnant woman, in a situation so horrid and awful. Many of them lived, and brought forth the fruit of nature, amidst this complication of miseries. But the preservation of the mother and the child, approached nearer to the nature of a miracle, than to what is esteemed the effect of the established and regular laws of nature, in the civilized state.—While their wars had this fatal tendency to prevent the increase, they operated with a force equally fatal, to destroy and sweep off those that were the most vigorous and active. Revenge, destruction, the utter extermination of an enemy, was the object aimed at in an Indian war: And while it was carried on, it operated and raged with a fatal and a certain tendency, to effect its design, aim, and end.

Other causes might be found, in the customs, manners, and maxims of the savages, which were also unfavourable to increase and multiplication; but it is not necessary to enumerate every particular, that would apply to this subject. The circumstances
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which have been mentioned, are sufficient to account for all that has been uncommon, in the defect of Indian population. That these circumstances, do in fact contain the causes, which rendered the population so small among the savages, is confirmed from this additional evidence. Wherever the Indians have been placed in a situation favourable to increase, they have become equally prolific as the descendents of Europe. Several of the traders among the Indian tribes, have married with their women: When the Indian women have been thus provided with comfortable food, raiment, and places of abode, and relieved from the fatigues and distresses of the savage state, they have raised up as large and numerous families, as are found in the houses of the white people.—And among themselves, when a tribe was situated on the bank of a river abounding with fish, or in a spot where the game was plenty, and they remained undisturbed by their enemies; their numbers soon increased, their women became more valued and esteemed, and population assumed a greater force and vigour.

In some parts of America, the Indians had advanced beyond the savage state, and acquired some of the arts and conveniencies of the civil state. In such places, the same increase of numbers took place among them, that is seen among other nations. The intercourse between the sexes approached nearer to delicacy and refinement. Greater attention was paid to the women. The men became sensible, how much their happiness might be promoted, by the attachment and tenderness of the female. In the empires of Peru and Mexico, the Indians had made considerable advances to such a state: And their population had become vigorous and rapid. Their numbers resembled the appearance of things in Europe; and their cities abounded with inhabitants. Sixty thousand families, were said by Cortez, to be contained

contained in the city of Mexico, when he led his band of russians against it.—From these effects we may determine with certainty, that the defect in the Indian population, was not derived from any weakness, impotency, degradation, or defect of nature; but arose from a situation, in which every circumstance was unfriendly to increase, and multiplication.

From the beardless countenance, and inattention of the Indian to the female, some philosophers of great eminence and abilities, have formed the most extravagant systems and theories. One has asserted that the Indian of America, has an inferiour constitution to the European; that he is weak, and deficient in the organs of generation; without ardour, and impotent with the female; and destitute of natural affections to his wife and children.* Another is positive that he is not descended from the common parents of the whites, but is a distinct, separate, and inferiour order of men to them; of a different original, and species.† And it seems to be generally asserted and believed, by the historians who have quoted these accounts, that the man of America was of less force, energy, and vigour, than the man of Europe; and laboured under some physical defect, or degradation.

The clearest proof, and the most unexceptionable evidence, ought to have been produced, before a philosopher admitted as facts, things so repugnant to the general principles and laws of nature. Had this been attempted, it would have corrected the error; for the facts are all in opposition, to what has been so often asserted, and quoted. No such animal was ever seen in America, as the Indian M. de Buffon described in Paris.—If the facts had been true,

* M. de Buffon, xviii. 146.

† Kaims' Sketches Hist. of Man, Vol. I. Sketch 1. Vol. II. Sketch 12.

true, the conclusions which have been drawn from them, would have been wholly uncertain. The want of a beard would have been no proof, that the Indians were incapable of population: And the want of that excessive licentious ardour, with which the negro and the libertine glows, is in no degree unfriendly to population. Every passion carried to excess, tends to weaken and enervate the whole animal frame. In obedience to that temperance, purity, and regularity, which nature enjoins and requires, are we to look for the effects, which nature designs. But the ardour produced by luxury, intemperance, and excess, weakens its own powers, defeats its end, and destroys its purpose: Instead of proving favourable to population, it tends to weakness, impotency, and the loss of manhood. Is it not surprising, that philosophers who had seen the debilitating and degrading effects, which luxury, intemperance, and excess, are constantly producing in the populous cities of Europe; should view the unnatural ardour they create, in any other, than an unfavourable light? Or suspect the Indian was inferiour by nature to the European, because he did not appear to be governed by that unnatural ardour, which never fails to debilitate all the powers of nature: And which often ends, in the most emaciated and degraded state, to which man can be reduced? Happily for himself, the Indian was without this unnatural ardour. Had it been added to the other unfortunate circumstances attending his situation, it would have gone far to have destroyed the whole race.

AVERSE TO ALL IMPROVEMENTS.—The most fatal circumstance of all, was, the savage state was extremely averse and opposed to all improvements. It is with a benevolent design, that nature reconciles and conciliates the mind of man, to that state in which it is placed. At the same time, it has made us capable of continual advance and progression, to
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greater improvements and perfection. So attached was the savage to the former, that he had no wish or desire of the latter. Content and satisfied with his own state, he had no wish, hope, or conception, that it could be changed for a better.—Accustomed to the most perfect freedom and independence, he beheld with detestation, the inequality of rank, and the subordination established among the Europeans. Free from all care, and without foresight, he was amazed at the anxiety, the care, and perpetual industry of the white people : And could not conceive why they should be thus perpetually adding hard labour, to the other unavoidable calamities of life. The constant scenes of hurry, care, and business, in which they were employed, were objects averse to all their feelings and wishes : And what they viewed as the most degraded condition, to which man could be reduced, was the business of agriculture, digging and labouring in the earth. The weapons of the Europeans appeared useful to them, and these they were at much pains to acquire. But most of their arts, customs, and manners, were greatly disagreeable to men, accustomed only to the business of hunting and fighting.—Men thus satisfied with their own condition, and averse to that of others, could not be brought, but with great difficulty, to admit the improvements of the civilized life ; or to give up that independence, which they esteemed the highest distinction, and the greatest glory of man.

The appetite for the hunter's state, is one of the most general and powerful, that prevails in any period of society. Men never quit this state, until it becomes inadequate to their subsistence and support. It is in hunting and in fishing, not in agriculture and the arts, that the indolent and wealthy in the most polished nations, find their favourite amusement and exercise.—The children of the white people, when

carried among the savages in early life, have often contracted such an attachment to that state, that they could not be persuaded to return, and reside among their friends. But nothing can reconcile the children of the Indians, to the customs, manners, and methods of living among the Europeans: However caressed and indulged, they droop and languish, until they return to the freedom and wildness of the forest.

Nor was there any thing in the savage state, that could refine or improve itself. While the game continued, the same method of living would have remained: And this would naturally have continued all the disadvantages, and habits of the savage state. The same method of support, would have perpetuated the same manners, maxims, and customs. Nothing would have led a people in such a situation, to any improvements, until necessity should have introduced agriculture; and forced them to become husbandmen, instead of remaining hunters.

Such were the disadvantages attending the savage state. They appear to have been inseparably connected with it: And of such a nature, as to prevent the improvement, progress, or increase of society. We need not hesitate to pronounce, that these disadvantages far exceeded any advantages that could attend it; and operated with a certain and fatal tendency, to continue man in a state of infancy, weakness, and the greatest imperfection. The freedom to which it led, was its greatest blessing; but the independence of which the savage was so fond, was never designed for man: And it is only in the improvements of civil society, that the human race can find the greatest increase of their numbers, knowledge, safety, and happiness.

C H A P. VIII.

Observations on the Origin of the Indians, their Antiquity, Progress of Society, and Tendency to Dissolution.

THE man of America differed in so many respects from the men of other countries, that it has been made a question among some of the modern philosophers, whether he was originally derived from the same parents as the white men ; or ought to be considered as a different race, from the men of other countries. No inquiries have the appearance of greater difficulties than those, which relate to the origin, and antiquity of the American Indians. Without attempting to resolve all the questions that have been proposed upon these subjects, it may be of use to collect some of the facts that seem to relate to them, and to note the conclusions to which they lead.

ORIGIN.—In whatever manner this part of the earth was peopled, the Indian or the Red Man, seems to have been the most ancient, or the original man of America. This race were by far the most numerous ; and they had spread over the whole continent, from about the fiftieth degree of north latitude to the southern extremity of Cape Horn. This vast extent of country, including all the variety of climates, was settled with the red men : And these men, every where appeared to be the same race, or kind of people.—In every part of the continent,

continent, the Indians were marked with a similarity of colour, features, and every circumstance of external appearance. Pedro de Cieca de Leon, who was one of the conquerors of Peru, and had travelled through many provinces of America; gives this account of the inhabitants: "The people, men and women, although there is such a multitude of tribes or nations as to be almost innumerable, and such diversity of climates, appear nevertheless like the children of one father and mother."* Ulloa, an able philosopher, and an accurate observer, visited and observed many of the Indian tribes and nations, of Southamerica: He observed also the Indians at Cape Breton, in Northamerica; and saith of the latter, that they were the same people with the Indians of Peru, resembling them in complexion, in manners, and in customs; the only visible difference, being, that the Indians at Cape Breton, were of a larger stature than those at Peru. "If we have seen one American," saith he, "we may be said to have seen them all, their colour and make are so nearly the same."† And it is worthy of remark, that no nation or people upon the earth, ever have spread over so large a tract of country, as these red men of America.

Were these men the same people with the inhabitants of the other parts of the globe?—Or did they radically differ from the men of all other countries? 1. They were of the same *complexion*, with the most ancient nation in Asia. From authentic documents, we are able to trace the existence, and national transactions of the Hindoos, to an higher antiquity, than we can find with certainty in any other nation. These were the Indians, or red men of Asia. And the Indians of both continents, are marked with the same

* Robertson's Hist. America, Vol. II. p. 462. note 45.

† Ulloa, Notic. Americanus, p. 308.

same peculiarity of *colour*. The distinguishing colour of the Indian, is red, or rather a reddish brown; resembling, but more dark than a copper colour. From this similarity of complexion, it is natural to conjecture, that the Indian of Asia and of America belonged to the same family. 2. The *features* and *countenance* of the American Indians, very much resembles those of another of the nations of Asia, the Tartars. The Tartars join upon India, are spread over the northern parts of Asia, and extend to the eastern coasts of the Pacific ocean. Of their appearance and countenance, geographers give us this account: "They are in general strong made, stout men: Their faces broad, their noses flattish, their eyes small and black, but very quick."* The Indians of America are thus described, by those who had lived long among them: "The limbs are well turned, the body of just proportion, the countenance broad, their nose flat, their eyes black, small, but capable of discerning objects at a great distance."† If these descriptions had been taken from the same individual, there could not have been a greater agreement, in every circumstance of aspect and countenance.

3. Some information respecting the descent of nations, may also be derived from their *customs*. Those customs and manners which arise from the wants, desires, and inclinations, peculiar to situation and employment, will be the same in the same state of society. A hunter in Asia, and a hunter in America, will have nearly the same character, the same occupations, pursuits, and manners. But those customs which do not arise from situation, or from any natural want or desire, may be termed *arbitrary*:
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* Guthrie's Geog. p. 660.

† Ulloa's and Pinto's account. Robertson's Hist. Amer. I. 460.

And the probability is, that two nations would not agree in these, unless they were derived from the one to the other. Several of these arbitrary customs, were common to the men of Asia and America.

One of these customs, was that of extracting their beards by the roots. The Tartars and the Americans, had both adapted this practice. Both of them appeared either wholly without a beard, or only with a few scattered hairs : And both of them made it their practice to extract or pluck them out with the roots. Something of the same kind is practised by the Chinese.—The Tartar and the American had both contracted the same wandering or roving disposition, contrary to the customs and dispositions of most nations ; who seldom have any disposition to desert their connexions and country, until they are compelled to it by necessity or force.—They had both adapted the same method of war ; wasting, destroying, and burning a country. The custom of scalping the dead, was one of the barbarous habits the Scythians practised. They cut a circle round the necks of those which they had slain, stripped off the skin, and carried it with them in triumph. In their marches, the Kamtschatkans never went a breast, but followed one another in the form of the Indian file.—The Tongusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, use canoes made of birch bark, distended over ribs of wood, and nicely sewed together, In these customs they are exactly imitated by the Indians of America.—In burying the dead, many of the American nations place the corps at full length, others place it in a sitting posture, and lay by it the most valuable clothing, provision, and arms. The Tartars did the same ; and both people agreed in covering the whole with earth, so as to form a tumulus or barrow.—The method, in which both people treated their nearest friends and relations, was still more extraordinary and uncommon. When their

their fathers and nearest friends were become extremely old and infirm, or were seized with a distemper deemed incurable, it was the custom of the Tartars to make a small hut for the patient, near some river, and to supply it with a small quantity of provisions : Removing the sufferer to such a situation, they left him to end his days, without visiting or affording him any further relief. The rudest tribes of the Americans, in several parts of the continent, had the same custom ; and sometimes they made use of force to extinguish the remains of life, in their diseased and aged friends. Both people adapted this custom, opposite to the practice of all other nations : And they both viewed it in the same light, not as an act of cruelty, or of any disrespect ; but as a deed of duty, and mercy : And they both assigned the same reason for it : " They were kindly relieving their friends from the increasing and unavoidable miseries of life ; and they were assisting them in their journey to the other country." Nor is it to be doubted but that they assigned the true reason and motive, upon which they acted ; for no people were ever known to pay a greater reverence to the aged, or were more enthusiastic in the veneration they paid to the tombs and memories of their ancestors.

Such customs are not derived from any natural appetite, or from any thing peculiar to the state of the hunter, or the savage ; but must be deemed extraordinary, uncommon, and arbitrary. Being found only among the men of Asia and America, the presumption is, that they were derived from the one to the other ; or that the latter had taken them from the former.

4. In the empire of Peru, there were several appearances of Chinese customs and manners. The appearance, the dress, and the superiour knowledge, of Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo ; the knowledge
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of agriculture and the arts, in which the one instructed the men ; the knowledge of spinning, knitting, weaving, and making garments of cotton, which the other diffused among the women ; the high estimation which the children of the sun assigned to agriculture, above all other arts and professions ; their custom of tilling a field with their own hands ; the ceremony with which the Inca began the business in the spring ; the festivals which attended it : The unlimited authority of the emperor, with the patriarchal aspect of the government ; the benevolent tendency of their laws, and wars ; and their public regulations respecting roads, bridges, canals, industry, provision for the poor and aged, and the responsibility of parents for the conduct of their children ; all, or most of these articles, bore a greater resemblance to Chinese maxims, manners, and customs, than could have been acquired in America, during the life of one man and woman, from their own observations and reasonings. They were advances towards a state of civilization, that nothing in the degraded state of the Peruvians, could have suggested, or produced, but in a long period of time.

Much pains has been taken by many learned and ingenious men, to compare the languages of the Americans, with those of other nations. But while these inquiries have been carried on with great assiduity, the most ancient language which prevailed in the east, the *Sanskreet*, "the parent of almost every dialect from the Persian gulf to the China seas,"* was itself wholly unknown : And no information has been derived from these inquiries.

We must reason then from such circumstances as we can find : And if a judgment can be formed from

* Preface to the Grammar of the Bengal Language, p. 3. The first translation from the Sanskreet language was published in 1785.

a similarity of complexion, features, and customs, we shall be led to conclude that the men of America were the same people with the men of Asia; but that their descent, was not from any particular one, but from several nations on the eastern continent.

No difficulty could ever have attended such emigrations. The continents of Asia and America approach so near to each other, that the inhabitants are frequently passing from the one to the other. The discoveries of the Russians, and the greater discoveries of the most celebrated modern navigator, Capt. Cook, have made it certain that if the two continents are separated at all, it is only by a strait, not more than eighteen miles in width. At no time within the period of history, was the navigation of the rudest tribes unequal to the passage of such a strait. And probably there never has been any difficulty, in passing from the one continent to the other.

It is not improbable that the red men of Asia, might find a passage into America altogether by navigation. "It has been long known that the Asiatic nation called the *Malayans*, possessed in former times; much the largest part of the trade of the Indies; and that their ships frequented, not only all the coasts of Asia, but even those of Africa, and particularly the large island of Madagascar. It has been more lately discovered, that the same nation, had extended their voyages and migrations from Madagascar, to the Marquesas, and Easter Island; that is, nearly from the east side of Africa, until we approach the west coast of America. This space includes almost one half of the circumference of the globe. Through this immense space the *Malayans* had spread, made settlements, and founded colonies in the islands at all the intermediate stages, at an immense distance from the parent continent. The voyages of Capt. Cook have afforded the proof of these historical facts: And they have been ascertained

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ed not only by a similarity of manners and customs, but by the affinity of language, and a collection of similar words, made from all the widely diffused islands and countries visited by this celebrated navigator."

A people who had thus spread over one half of the globe, from the coast of Africa towards America, and who had settled all the islands that lay between them, could scarcely have avoided arriving upon the western coast of America, and leaving some of her people there. Several of the islands that were settled, were near the American coast; and it must have been much easier to have discovered the continent, along the western coast of America, than to have found so many small and scattered islands. It is therefore highly probable, that the same people who spread over the islands in the Pacific ocean, should at times arrive also on the western shores of the continent.—In both these ways, might people from different nations in Asia, find a passage into America, and at very different periods of time.

The Indians however, were not the only men which appeared in America. Another race or kind of men were settled in the northern parts of the continent. These have been called *Esquimaux*. In their colour, dimensions, features, and customs, they differed much from the red men. They were of a fallow, or brownish complexion: Their size about four feet in height; their faces long and wrinkled; their noses thick and compressed; their eyes small and sunk; their cheeks much raised; their eyebrows and eyelids thick; with small legs and hands. This nation had spread over the most northern parts of America. They are found in Greenland, on the coast of Labradore, in Hudson's bay, and in all the coasts and islands on the west side of America, opposite to Kamtschatka. Their migrations had extended to Norton's sound, Onolashka, and Prince

William's

William's sound; one thousand five hundred leagues from their stations in Greenland and Labradore. The sameness of the people in these different places, has been ascertained by their manners, customs, features, and complexion; but more decidedly by such an affinity and similarity of language, as leaves no room for doubt. It will be easy to determine from whence this nation of the *Esquimaux* proceeded. Every thing in the appearance of this people, denotes them to be the same with the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the Samojeds, and the Tartars in the east. Like them they are a nation of dwarfs; largest towards the south, but decreasing and dwindling towards the north. They have all the same fallow complexion, deformed features, ugly appearance, and singular customs.—Whether the inhabitants, could pass from the northern parts of Europe into America by land, is as yet unknown. But the passage by water, was at all times easy; and certainly, at a very early period. In the voyage from Norway to Iceland, and from Iceland to Greenland, or the coast of Labradore, the first part of the voyage was much the largest: And this was practised from the earliest times, of which we have any account. For the ninth century, when navigation was extremely imperfect, the passage from Europe to America was so well understood, that the Norwegians planted and settled their colonies in Greenland. There is but little room then to doubt, but that the nation of the *Esquimaux* was derived from the same people in the northwest parts of Europe.—Their descent therefore must have been from the Tartars of Asia, for it was from them, that the Laplanders, who are spread over the northwestern parts of Europe, were derived. In the year 1769, Pere Hall, an astronomer of Hungary, was sent into Lapland to observe the transit of Venus. This able philosopher had a good opportunity to become acquainted with the manners, customs, features, and language

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of the inhabitants in that part of the globe : By his account, " it appears that the Laplanders are only degenerate Tartars ; and that they, and the Hungarians, originally sprung from the same breed of men, and from the same country."*

The two kinds of men then that were in America, were derived from the same source. The Indians and the Esquimaux, were both descended from the man of Asia ; and probably the most of them, from the same nation, the Tartars.—In America then nature had not made different races of men, fitted for, and originally placed in different climates. The men of America were the same with the men of Asia : And both of them migrated from one place to another, and spread through all the various climates of the earth. They were distinguished by the differences of complexion, dimension, features, arbitrary customs, and peculiarities of manners, as much as the inhabitants are in other parts of the globe. But these differences must have been derived from climate, food, manner of living, or some other circumstance ; for they certainly were not derived from a different origin, or any particular local creation.

The constitution of man appears to be the same, in every part of the globe. Nature has given to him the same physical and moral powers, capable of different degrees of improvement, according to the state of society in which he shall be placed. But in no country, or part of the globe, does man appear to be an animal of climate. Among animals nothing is more apparent, than that some are animals of climate ; that is, they are fitted by nature and constitution to some particular part of the globe ; where alone they can subsist, multiply, and obtain their proper perfection. Thus the animals peculiar to the torrid and frigid zone, never have their particular climates out of choice ; and when a change
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of climate is forced upon them, they degenerate, and waste away. It is evident that man is not such an animal. He can multiply, and attain his proper perfection, in all the various climates of the earth. Nature has not furnished him with any kind of covering, fitted to a hot, to a temperate, or to a cold climate : This is left to his own reason and industry, according as his situation may require. Nor has nature assigned to him any particular, invariable colour. Black is the absence or want, and white is the mixture of all colours : And these are the extremes between which, all the various complexions fall. Nature therefore has not assigned to man any covering, or any invariable colour, or any thing in his constitution, that has fitted him particularly for the torrid, temperate, or frigid zone : But has given him a nature and constitution, adapted to every climate. And in every climate which produces his proper food, the white, the red, and the black men, will subsist, multiply, and attain their proper perfection.—If nature has thus made man the animal of all climates, would it not be altogether unphilosophical, to look out for local creations ; or to introduce miraculous interpositions of the Deity, to explain those differences among men in other places, which in America, we are certain were derived from natural causes ?

ANTIQUITY.—In attempting to estimate the antiquity of the most polished nations, we can derive but little information from history. No records, no monuments, no writings can be found, that reach back to so ancient a period. Least of all is this to be expected from a race of savages, which had not the knowledge of letters. All the information we can obtain, must be derived from such circumstances and events, as imply or denote certain periods of years ; and of these there are but few, in the transactions of the savage state.

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Some information may be collected from the *extent* of the country they had settled. The continent of America, in its dimensions, amounts to one third part of the habitable globe. Over the whole of this continent had the savages extended, when it was first discovered by Columbus, in the year 1492. Their population had then attained its greatest perfection. No increase of their numbers has any where appeared to take place, since that time. No circumstance or event has taken place during the three hundred years, that the Europeans have been acquainted with the Indians, which can lead us to suspect that the savage state either has, or can admit of a greater population, than what it had already attained. Nor is it probable, that any increase of numbers, and population, could have taken place, while hunting continued to be the method of procuring subsistence.—From the observations that were made in Virginia, and Massachusetts, it has been computed that the population of the Indians upon the sea coasts, could not be estimated higher than one for every square mile. In the inland parts of the country, the Indian population certainly did not exceed this. Geographers have computed the number of square miles in America, to amount to fourteen millions, one hundred and ten thousand, eight hundred and seventy four. We cannot make a nearer computation, than to suppose this was about the number of Indians it required in the hunter's state, to spread over the whole continent.—How long a period would it require, for the savages to increase to such a number? There has been no instance of a more rapid increase, than that of the British colonies in America. They were aided by new emigrations from Europe: But so much were they retarded and broke up in their settlements by war, before the American revolution, that they did not in fact double their numbers in thirty years. The families of the Indians

dians did not contain more than half so many members, as those of the white people. The Indian population then will be highly estimated, if we compute it to one half of that of the white inhabitants; and instead of thirty, admit sixty years as the period of doubling. Assuming the population to have proceeded from one male and female, this would require thirteen centuries and an half to have spread over the whole continent, and produced one inhabitant to every square mile.—The period of population could not have been less than this. But probably this period was completed long before Columbus came into America. The Indians in several places, had gone out of the hunter's state. On the sea coasts they were advancing into something like monarchy. In Mexico and Peru they were become extremely numerous, and had established extensive and powerful empires; the duration of which, could be traced back four or five hundred years. From their extent and population then, we deduce with some degree of probability, that the Indians must have been settled in America eighteen centuries when Columbus first discovered the continent. This will carry us back three centuries before the christian era.

The number and variety of their *languages* implies and requires a much longer duration, and an higher antiquity. The Indians of America had not only spread over the continent, but they had every where formed themselves into a number of small tribes. If we may judge of the number of these tribes from what took place in Newengland, and Virginia, they must have amounted to thousands. Several of these tribes had subsisted so long in a national form, and as a distinct people, that they had formed a particular language for themselves. There were three original languages spoken in Canada; the Sioux, the Huron, and the Algonquin.* In Newengland, there were

* Abbe Raynal, V. 103.

were one or two others.† In Virginia there were three, different from either of these.‡ In Mexico thirty five were discovered. In Southamerica there were still more. In Maraguon, the Portuguese counted fifty.§ In each of these places, the dialects were nearly as many as their tribes. And yet these places made but a small part of the continent.—What an immense period of time does this require? A language may be separated into different dialects in a few generations: But for these dialects to recede so far from one another, as to lose all resemblance and affinity; and several new languages to be formed, radically differing from one another; could not take place, or be effected, until the tribes had subsisted for many centuries, as distinct and separate nations.—We cannot estimate this process by fixed periods of time, because we have no facts from which a computation can be made. But it may be compared to the state and progress of things, in the other hemisphere: And we shall find the number of languages radically differing from one another, more numerous among the Americans, than they were in Asia and Europe. Is not this an indication, that the red men of America are as ancient as the other nations of the earth? Learning and science they had none: But nature, situation, and necessity, would operate as certainly, and as regularly upon them, as upon any other people. And would it not require as long a period of time to produce, and to form a language among the savages, as among any other people? This circumstance seems to denote an antiquity, fully equal to that, which is claimed by any of the nations of the other hemisphere. Their antiquity may also be traced back to the time, when the most useful arts were unknown; and
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† Hutchinson, I. 457. 479.

‡ Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 99.

§ Clavigero's Hist. of Mexico.

when the red men of Asia had not the use of the metals, or of domestic animals. Some of the arts must have been nearly coeval with the human race; for neither food, raiment, or habitations, could be procured without something of them. Some of the arts have been gradually advancing, without owing much to any original inventor. And many of them are of such antiquity, that their origin and inventor are beyond the reach of history. This is the case with the most necessary and useful arts of life. The origin of spinning, and knitting, of the plough, the loom, and the forge, were more ancient than any of our historical monuments, records, or traditions. But when those arts were invented, they never could be lost. Amidst the wars, changes, and revolutions, to which nations are exposed, what are called the fine arts may perish and be lost. But no vicissitudes of human affairs tend to destroy those arts, by which all men derive their subsistence; and which are equally necessary to the conqueror and to the captive, to the oppressor and to the oppressed. The same observation may be made with respect to the use of domestic animals. A people that have experienced the advantages derived from the food they afford, and from the labour they perform, would never lose this kind of knowledge; but endeavour to apply it to such kind of animals, as they found in the country to which they repaired.—Of all these, the Indians of America were ignorant. They knew not the use of the metals, spinning, weaving, or the domestic animals: They had derived no such knowledge from their ancestors, nor had they acquired it themselves. At what period then, must they have settled in America? Before these arts were known in Asia. Before the Scythians became husbandmen, and before the most necessary and useful arts were known in the midst of Asia.—Without attempting therefore to go back to the beginning of the creation

of God, we can find circumstances that will carry us as far back into antiquity, as any other nation can pretend. The history and pretensions of the Chinese, do not imply or suppose any circumstances of greater antiquity, than those which have been mentioned. And it must be from circumstances and facts, not from tradition, that we must trace the antiquity and origin of ancient nations.

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.—The progress of society among the Indians, would make a curious, and the most useful part of their history. The rudest and most simple state that took place among them, was that which I have been describing. Wheresoever the savages continued to derive their support from hunting, they continued from age to age in the same condition, and made no improvements. Where the means of subsistence were plentiful, and easy to be procured, the Indians had advanced beyond the state of an hunter, and began to increase their numbers, and their agriculture. In such places, society began to assume a different form, from what it bore in their rudest and most simple state. And the tendency of it was every where to *monarchy*.—In the southern parts of Newengland, and Virginia, some of the tribes were advancing fast to the form of hereditary monarchy. In the hotter climates it was already established. This was the case in Florida, among the Natchez on the Mississippi, in Cuba, Hispaniola, and all the large islands. In Bagota, Mexico, and Peru, monarchy had acquired its perfect form, its full powers, and a complete establishment. In each of these places, the progress of government had been from perfect freedom and independence, to almost absolute and unlimited monarchy.—In the course of this progress, two remarkable phenomena appeared: In one part of America, an empire and a monarchy was established, in most respects resembling those which had arisen in the other hemisphere.

phere. In another part of America, an empire and a monarchy was produced, far superiour to those which were produced in the other parts of the globe. In the empire of Mexico, almost every thing had taken the Asiatic, and European course. The great body of the people were reduced to a degraded and humiliating state; and held their lives, and performed their labours, under various names and degrees of degradation and abasement. A body of nobility were possessed of ample territories, of great privileges, powers, and honours, under different names and degrees. Above, and over all, was the monarch, enjoying supreme power and dignity. After being elective during the reign of eleven of their sovereigns, the monarchy was become almost absolute and hereditary, in Montezuma. The system of religion agreed perfectly well to the nature of the government: It was severe, cruel, and barbarous; and delighted in the sprinkling and shedding of blood: Human sacrifices of all others were esteemed the most acceptable, and availing; and the priests had the privilege, the honour, and the profit, of announcing or removing the vengeance of the gods. This system of monarchy had acquired a stability, a regularity, and a vigour, equal to any monarchy that was then upon the earth. Upon comparing the spirit of monarchy, untempered by representation, in America, in Asia, and in Europe; the spirit and the principles of it, will be found every where to have operated alike. It degrades the body of the people below the condition and nature of man: It exalts the nobles and the sovereign above the condition and state, which nature designs or admits. In one form or another it has always been attended with a persecuting, cruel, and bloody religion, put into the hands of a wealthy, and powerful priesthood. It has constantly produced the spirit of war and destruction; and generally derived to itself security, wealth,

wealth, and power, from the misery, destruction, and slaughter, it has entailed on the human race. By placing the rulers in a situation altogether unnatural, that is, above all sense of accountability to their fellow men, it has produced that constant, steady, and universal abuse of power, which, in every part of the globe, has been the distinguishing and certain effect of this form of government. Its spirit and principle have every where been the same; not the *honour* which the great Montesquieu wished to ascribe to it, and wanted to find in it, but that total want of regard and accountability to man, which, with great accuracy and propriety, has been lately named *a contempt of the people*.

The empire of Peru was formed and governed by a species of monarchy, different from what has ever taken place among any other people. Twelve successive monarchs, for a period of more than four hundred years, had been invested with hereditary and absolute power. They claimed this authority, not as derived to them in any manner or degree from the people, but as the absolute and exclusive donation of heaven. They announced themselves to be the children of the sun, and clothed with divine and unlimited power to direct all the civil and religious affairs of the people. The sovereign was named *Inca*; and so sacred and pure were the family of the inca's, in the minds of the people, that they were universally esteemed incapable of committing a crime, or falling into an error: No other family might marry or mingle with it, for fear of polluting the heavenly blood. The people looked up to them, as to beings of a superiour and heavenly race: And all disobedience to them, was viewed not barely as a crime committed against men, but as an act of rebellion against God.—The nobility of course was nothing more than families of office. Though a difference of rank had taken place throughout the empire,

pire, all but the children of the sun, were supposed to belong to the common race of men. The people were well clothed, and fed; every where distinguished for their industry, economy, moderation, contentment, and happiness. Over this people, the incas, though absolute in power, established a government the most mild and gentle, that has ever taken place in any part of the earth. The morals of the people were so pure, that few crimes were ever committed: The genius of the government was so mild, that few punishments were ever executed: And when they were, they were viewed as the necessary acts of God, and not of men. Their government, the dominion of prosperity and virtue, was esteemed by the people the dominion of God and his inca.—Their system of religion, like their government, was mild, gentle, and pacific. The sun, the emblem of light, serenity, fertility, beneficence, joy, and life, was the object of their adoration. They offered to him a part of those productions, which they derived from cultivating the earth, enriched by his genial warmth. They presented to him specimens of those works of ingenuity, which they had performed by his light. And they brought to him some of those animals, which were nourished by his influence. But the inca never stained their altars with human blood; nor admitted the savage idea, that the source of beneficence could be pleased with the persecution, cruelty, and destruction of men.—Their system of war partook of the same spirit of mildness, and wisdom. They fought not to exterminate, but to conquer: They conquered not to enslave, but to improve, to civilize, and refine. No cruel torture awaited the captive. No barbarous marks of degradation, disgrace, triumph, or slavery, were reserved for the prisoners. They were taught the same system of government and religion, as the rest of the people: They were admitted to the same privileges; and treated

treated with the same lenity and mildness. Of all the triumphs of the inca, the noblest and the greatest, was to diffuse the manifold blessings of peace and happiness, to the people whom they had subdued.

Such was the genius, the spirit, and the effect, of the system of monarchy that was established in Peru. We need not hesitate to pronounce it superiour to any, that was then to be found upon the face of the earth. The genius and the spirit of it, were above all others, mild and gentle : The object and the aim of it, were in fact, the improvement and the happiness of the people. And if any government ever produced this effect, that government was the monarchy of Peru : Not the attainment of the most polished nations of Asia, and Europe, of their arts, science, and improvements ; but of the greater wisdom and simplicity of the Indians, and incas of America.

We have here a phenomenon, new, and almost incredible in the political world. Absolute, unlimited, and hereditary monarchy, which has never failed before or since to prove one of the heaviest curses, which has fallen upon mankind ; in Peru became mild, gentle, and beneficent : And was constantly employed during the reign of twelve successive monarchs, to refine, civilize, and improve the people ; and to do the greatest good to mankind. And yet this was a system not founded in truth, or in nature ; but in delusion and superstition. What could give it a direction so steady, uniform, and benevolent ? Not the form, but the principle of it. It contained the best and the purest principle, that can enter into the nature of human government. Its origin, duration, and power, depended wholly upon *the public sentiment*. The inca claimed immediate descent, and relation to the sun. The sun was the emblem of peace, and benevolence. Had the monarch stained his character by enormity in crimes and vices,

vices, or by a constant abuse of power, nature would have taught the Peruvians that monsters in corruption, vice, and cruelty, could not have been the favourite children of the Deity. If the inca had been viewed in this light, all his divinity, and his power would have ended. His power was founded altogether in the opinion the people had formed of his divine descent, qualifications, character, and virtues. So solicitous had the incas been to preserve this opinion, that through the whole period of their successions, they had taken the most scrupulous care not to endanger or oppose it, by any base and unworthy conduct. And while they thus proved the constant friends and benefactors of the people, the public esteem and veneration increased. In the benevolence and usefulness of the inca, the people believed they saw the children of the sun: And in the affections and opinions of the people, the Inca found an absolute and unlimited power. But if his conduct had plainly discovered that instead of being the child of the sun, he was the child of folly, of vice, and abominable iniquity, his divinity, his power, and his empire would have ceased with the public opinion.

Instead then of being founded in a contempt of the people like the empire of Mexico, the monarchy of Peru had the singular good fortune of being founded in the public sentiment. This rendered the inca accountable to the people for every part of his conduct: And this sense of accountability would keep a constant sense of duty and character upon his mind. Thus under the form of absolute hereditary monarchy, the government of Peru had the uncommon advantage of excluding nobility with all its odious distinctions and claims; and of embracing the best and purest principles, upon which civil government can ever be founded. The Indians seem to have been the only people, among whom, a
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regard to the public sentiment and benefit, did in fact constitute the spirit and principle of hereditary and absolute monarchy.

TENDENCY TO DISSOLUTION.—However beautiful and promising the progress of society once was among the Indians of America, it is now every where tending to decay and dissolution; and this has been its tendency, ever since the first arrival of the Europeans. In the destruction of the empires of Mexico, and Peru, Cortez and Pizarro performed the most accursed transactions that ever were done by man. And wherever the Europeans have settled, misery, calamity, and destruction, have been entailed on that unhappy race of men. The vices we have taught them, the diseases we have spread among them, the intemperance they have learnt of us, and the destruction of their game, are evils for which the savage is unable to find a remedy. A contempt of our morals, a horror at the knavery that has attended our commerce with them, and the constant advances we have made into their country, have filled their minds with prejudices against our arts and improvements. This, added to the frequency and bitterness of their wars, to their constant hardships and sufferings, and to a defective population, but too plainly denote the event. The constant waste and decay of this people, must end in their total destruction: According to the present course and tendency of things, in two or three centuries, the whole race must become extinct.—Instead of wishing for such an event, it would add to the glory of the United States to make a serious attempt to prevent it. It has been the practice of arbitrary governments to sport with the liberties, and lives of men. A government of reason and nature ought to attempt to conciliate the affections of a free, brave, independent, and generous people. It would be a greater glory than we have ever yet attained,

attained, if we could find out a way to impart the blessings of the civil state, to a people whose greatest miseries and misfortunes have been derived from the superiour arts, the policy, and the power of civilized nations.

C H A P. IX.

First Settlement of Vermont by the English. Grants from Newhampshire. Proceedings of Newyork. Violent Opposition of the Settlers. American War. Declaration of the Freedom and Independence of the State.

THE large and valuable tract of country, which is now known by the name of Vermont, -was situated, between the Newengland provinces, Newyork, and Canada. Its distance from the English settlements along the sea coasts, and from the French on the river St. Lawrence, prevented any settlements being made in it, at an early period, by either nation : But both of them, were making constant advances towards it. So early as the year 1615, the Dutch had advanced one hundred and sixty miles up Hudson's river, and built a fort at Albany. In 1640, the French had extended far up the river St. Lawrence, and began their settlements at Montreal. In 1635, the English began the town of Springfield, upon Connecticut river ; and by 1670, had extended as far up the river, as Deerfield. On September 3d, 1696, Colonel *Fletcher*, governor of Newyork, made a grant to Godfrey Delliuss, a clergyman at Albany, of a tract of land on the east side of Hudson's river : This tract extended from the northernmost bounds of *Saratoga*, to the rock *Ros-fian*, (now called Split Rock, in the township of Willf-borough) about seventy miles in length, and in width,

width, twelve miles from Hudson's river. In 1699, this grant was declared by the government of New-York to have been extravagant, and vacated on that account.*—In 1716 a tract of land was granted by the general court of Massachusetts, in the southeast part of the state, containing more than one hundred thousand acres. But it was not until the year 1724, that any settlement was made, within the bounds of Vermont: The government of Massachusetts, then built fort Dummer, upon Connecticut river. This fort, was then admitted to be within Massachusetts, afterwards it was found to be in Newhampshire, and is now in Vermont. This was the first settlement, any civilized nation had ever made, in this state. On the other side of the state, the French made their advances up Lake Champlain, and in 1731, built their fort at Crown Point, and began a settlement on the east side of the lake. This part of America became of course, the seat of war, and was constantly exposed to the depredations of both nations, and their Indian allies.

The provinces of Massachusetts and Newhampshire, had a long and tedious controversy, respecting their divisional line. This was not settled until March 5, 1740; when George the second, determined, "that the northern boundary of the province of Massachusetts be, a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket falls; and a straight line drawn from thence, due west, until it meets with his Majesty's other governments." This line was run in 1741, and has ever since been admitted as the boundary line, between Massachusetts and Newhampshire. By this decision, and the establishment of this line, the government of Newhampshire concluded, that their jurisdiction extended

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* Laws of Newyork, Vol. I. p. 32, Edit. 1774.

ed as far west, as Massachusetts had claimed and exercised ; that is, within twenty miles of Hudson's river. The king of Greatbritain, had repeatedly recommended to the assembly of Newhampshire, to make provision for the support of fort Dummer ; as a fortress, which had now fallen within their jurisdiction, and was known to stand on the west side of Connecticut river. From these circumstances, it was not doubted either in Britain, or in America, but that the jurisdiction of Newhampshire extended to the west of Connecticut river ; but how far to the west, had never been examined, or called into question. *Benning Wentworth*, was at that time governor of Newhampshire. In 1749, he made a grant of a township, six miles square. It was situated twenty miles east of Hudson's river, and six miles north of Massachusett's line. In allusion to his own name, he gave to this township, the name of Bennington. For the space of four, or five years, he made several other grants, on the west side of Connecticut river. In 1754, hostilities commenced between the English, and the French in America, which put a stop to the applications and grants, and issued in a war between the two crowns. In 1760, the operations of the war, in this part of America, were terminated, by the surrender of Montreal, and the entire conquest of Canada.—During the progress of the war, the Newengland troops cut a road from Charlestown in Newhampshire to Crown Point, and were frequently passing through these lands ; and their fertility and value, became generally known. Upon the cessation of hostilities, they were eagerly sought after, by adventurers and speculators. By the advice of his council, the governor of Newhampshire directed a survey to be made of Connecticut river, for sixty miles ; and three lines of townships, to be laid out, on each side. The application for lands constantly increased, and new surveys were made.

made. So rapid was the progress, that during the year 1761, not less than sixty townships, of six miles square were granted on the west of Connecticut river. The whole number of grants, in one or two years more, amounted to one hundred and thirty eight : And their extent, was from Connecticut river, to what was esteemed twenty miles east of Hudson's river, so far as that extended to the northward ; and after that, as far west as the eastern shore of Lake Champlain. The cultivation of the country, and the number of the settlers, increased with a surprising rapidity ; and Wentworth had an opportunity to accumulate a large fortune, by the fees and donations which attended the business, and by a reserve of five hundred acres, which he made in every township for himself.

The government of Newyork intending to have the disposal of the lands, was alarmed at these proceedings. Charles the second, in 1664, and 1674, made an extraordinary grant to his brother, the Duke of York ; containing among other parts of America, "all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river, to the east side of Delaware bay." This grant was inconsistent with the charters, which had before been granted to Massachusetts, and Connecticut ; and neither of them, admitted it to have any effect, with regard to the lands which they had settled, or claimed to the west of Connecticut river : And there were no principles, which apply to human affairs, by which this grant would bear a strict examination. If it be examined geographically, the bounds of it were contradictory, indefinite, and impossible. If it be subjected to a legal construction, the whole of it, upon James's accession to the throne, merged in the crown ; and at his abdication, passed to William his successor. If it be considered as an instrument of government, it did not establish any colony or province of Newyork, or any power to govern any
such

such province.—Upon this inadequate and blundering transaction of Charles the second, Newyork founded her claim, and hope, of obtaining the lands, which Newhampshire was granting. To check the proceedings of Newhampshire, and to intimidate the settlers, Mr. *Colden*, lieutenantgovernor of Newyork, issued a proclamation,* reciting the grants to the Duke of York, asserting their validity, claiming the jurisdiction as far east as Connecticut river, and commanding the sheriff of the county of Albany, to make a return of the names of all persons, who under the colour of the Newhampshire grants, had taken possession of any lands to the west of the river. To prevent the effects that might arise from this proclamation, the governor of Newhampshire put forth another proclamation,† declaring the grant to the Duke of York to be obsolete, that Newhampshire extended as far to the west, as Massachusetts and Connecticut, that the grants made by Newhampshire would be confirmed, if the jurisdiction shall be altered; the settlers were exhorted, not to be intimidated, but to be industrious and diligent in cultivating their lands; and the civil officers were required, to exercise jurisdiction as far westward, as grants had been made, and to punish all disturbers of the peace. This proclamation served to quiet the minds of the settlers: And after such assurances from a royal governor, they had no idea that a contest between two provinces, respecting the extent of their jurisdiction, would ever affect the property of such individuals, as had fairly purchased their lands, under a charter from a royal government.

Newyork had as yet founded her claim to the lands, upon the grant to the Duke of York; but that sagacious government did not choose to rely, upon so precarious a ground. Applications were made

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* 1763. Dec. 28.

† 1764. March 13.

to the crown representing that it would be greatly for the convenience and advantage of the people, who were settled west of Connecticut river, to be annexed to Newyork; that the course of business must always lie that way, and that the people were desirous to be included in that government.* The result of these applications, was a decision in favour of Newyork. On July 20th, 1764, his Majesty ordered and declared, "The western banks of the river Connecticut, from where it enters the province of the Massachusetts bay, as far north as the forty fifth degree of northern latitude, *to be* the boundary line, between the said two provinces of Newhampshire and Newyork." This determination of the king, did not appear to be founded on any former grant to the Duke of York; but was a decision, *de novo*; as the occasion, and convenience of the people, were supposed to require. In this decision of the boundary line, there was nothing alarming to the people, who had settled on the new lands. They had no idea of disputing the jurisdiction, or opposing the government of Newyork. They concluded the title to their lands, would not be in any way affected, by the decision, but rather confirmed: And that the determination was expressed in language, (*to be*) designed to relate to the *future*, and not to any past transactions, or time. Had the government of Newyork assigned the same construction to the royal decision, no controversy would ever have arisen; the settlers would have remained quiet and easy, under their jurisdiction. But a very different construction was put upon the royal determination, in Newyork. The government of that province

* The inhabitants complained that a petition was presented to the king, signed with their names, but unknown to them. In their first petition to Congress, Jan. 7, 1776, they give this account of the petition, "We have often heard, and verily believe [it was] in your petitioners' names,"

province construed it; as a declaration not only of what was to be, for the time to come, but of what was, and always *had been*, the eastern limit of New-york: And of consequence, that the grants which had been made by the governor of Newhampshire, were grants of what had always belonged to New-york.

In conformity to this explanation, the grants from Newhampshire, were considered by the government of Newyork, as illegal, and of no authority. The new district was divided into four counties: The southwestern parts, were annexed to the county of Albany; the northwest, were formed into a county by the name of Charlotte. On the east side of the green mountains, two counties were formed; Cumberland, to the south; and Gloucester, to the north; and in these, courts were regularly held. The settlers were required to surrender the charters, which they had received from Newhampshire, and to take out new grants from Newyork, which were attended with great fees, and expense. Some of the towns complied with this requisition, and bought their lands the second time, but the greater part refused it: And where it was not complied with, on the part of the grantees, new grants were made of their lands, to such petitioners, as would advance the fees which were demanded. Actions of ejectment were commenced in the courts at Albany, against several of the ancient settlers; and the decisions of the courts, were always in favour of the Newyork proceedings, and against all titles and grants, derived from the governor of Newhampshire.—The case of the settlers did not admit of any relief, from the customary forms of law; but only from the equity, the wisdom, and the moderation, of a provincial government: But moderation, and tenderness of the rights of individuals, unable to defend their claims, was not to be expected from adventurers, and speculators, who
had

had an opportunity to acquire what lands they pleased, under the customary forms of law, and government. The governor, and some of the leading men in Newyork, availed themselves of this state of things; and derived much more enormous profits, by making a second grant of the lands, than the governor of Newhampshire had acquired, by making the first.*

Although it proved an easy thing for the claimants under Newyork, to recover judgment against the settlers, it was not found so easy a matter, to carry those judgments into execution. When the executive officers came to eject the inhabitants, from their houses and lands, they generally met with an avowed opposition, from the possessors; and were not suffered, to proceed to the execution of their offices. The minds of the settlers, instead of being depressed into submission, seemed to derive new powers, from oppression: And the people soon began to associate, to defend one another, in their opposition to the courts, and officers of Newyork.

When it was found, that there was an avowed opposition and combination, against the proceedings of the courts at Albany, an attempt was made by the government of Newyork, to engage the militia to assist and support the sheriff. The people who were thus forced to march, in support of the sheriff, had no affection for the business: They were rather in sentiment, with the settlers; and had no disposition to hazard their lives, in support of a quarrel, which they plainly saw, was designed only for the emolument of a few speculators; whose claims and conduct, did not appear to them, to be so justifiable as those of the people, against whom they were

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compelled

* The fees to the governor of Newhampshire, for granting a township, were about one hundred dollars; under the government of Newyork, they generally amounted to two thousand or two thousand six hundred dollars.

compelled to take up arms. The sheriff soon found that very little dependence could be placed on the posse, which attended him: Upon the appearance of an armed opposition from the settlers, the Newyork militia could not be kept together, and the sheriff found his power, was no more availing, when he was attended with the posse comitatus, than when he was without them.

This circumstance afforded much encouragement to the inhabitants, and they began to believe, they should find that support from the general sentiments of the people, in the adjacent states, which they could not find from law. Their opposition became more general, and daring; and some of the officers of Newyork became sufferers, for attempting to carry into execution the judgments of their courts. In this course, the difficulties and dangers were constantly increasing, until several on both sides were much abused, and wounded; and no officer from Newyork, dared to attempt to dispossess any of the settlers, of their farms. The actions of ejectment however, still went on, in the courts at Albany; but no attention was paid to them, nor was any defence made by the settlers; but they were never suffered to be carried into execution: And when all other methods had failed, the most active of the leaders, were indicted as rioters.

The main body of the settlers at that time, consisted of a brave, hardy, intrepid, but uncultivated set of men. Without many of the advantages of education, without any other property than what hard labour and hard living had procured, destitute of the conveniences and elegancies of life, and having nothing to soften or refine their manners; roughness, excess, and violence, would naturally mark their proceedings. To deny such people justice, was to prejudice and arm them against it, to confirm all their suspicions

suspensions and prejudices against their rulers, and to give them an excuse and plea to proceed to outrage and violence. When the government of Newyork, gave to their proceedings, the names of mobs and riots, abuse and outrage to their officers, it is probable the expressions conveyed pretty just ideas, of the appearance of their conduct, and opposition to the laws. But when they called their opposition, felony, treason, and rebellion against lawful authority, the people of the adjacent provinces, seem to have believed, that the government of Newyork was much more blamable, in making and executing such laws, as called their titles to their lands in question, than the settlers were, in acting in open and avowed opposition to them.

In this scene of violence, and opposition to the proceedings of Newyork, *Ethan Allen* placed himself at the head of the opposition. Bold, enterprising, ambitious, with great confidence in his own abilities, he undertook to direct the proceedings of the inhabitants. He wrote and dispersed several pamphlets to display the injustice, and designs, of the Newyork proceedings: And so oppressive were those measures, that although Allen was a very indifferent writer, his pamphlets were much read, and regarded; and had a great influence upon the minds, and conduct of the people. The uncultivated roughness of his own temper and manners, seems to have assisted him, in giving a just description of the views and proceedings of speculating land jobbers: And where all was a scene of violence and abuse, such a method of writing, did not greatly differ from the feelings of the settlers, or from the style of the pamphlets that came from Newyork. But though he wrote with asperity, a degree of generosity attended his conduct; and he carefully avoided bloodshed, and protested against every thing that had the appearance of meanness, injustice, cruelty,

elty, or abuse, to those who fell into his power.— Next to him, *Seth Warner* seems to have been the most distinguished, in those times. Warner was cool, firm, steady, resolute, and fully determined that the laws of Newyork respecting the settlers, never should be carried into execution. When an officer came to take him as a rioter, he considered it as an affair of open hostility; defended himself, attacked, wounded, and disarmed the officer; but with the spirit of a soldier, spared his life.

So notorious and alarming had this controversy become, that the settlers sent three of their most active members, as agents to Greatbritain, to represent their situation, and implore the protection of the crown.* An inquiry was made into the nature and ground of their complaint; and the event proved favourable to their wishes. In 1767, the king interposed to stop the proceedings of the governor of Newyork. Having recited a report from the lords of the trade and plantation affairs, he gave this royal order to the governor:† “His Majesty doth hereby strictly charge, require, and command, that the governor or commander in chief of his Majesty’s province of Newyork, for the time being, do not upon pain of his Majesty’s highest displeasure, presume to make any grant whatsoever, of any part of the lands described in the said report, until his Majesty’s further pleasure shall be known concerning the same.” The settlers were much encouraged by this royal mandate, and concluded it was designed, and would be effectual, to prevent any further proceedings in regranting the lands. But they were soon full of complaints, that no regard was paid to it, that the business was pursued with the same avidity as before,

* Mess. Samuel Robinson, James Brakenridge, and Mr. Hawley.

† July 24.

fore, and that the governors of New York, while they were calling upon them to obey the royal orders and decisions, paid no regard to those orders themselves. It seems in fact to have been the case, that the business of making new grants of the lands, was not too lucrative a job, to be easily or soon given up; especially, when the crown could neither fully comprehend, regulate, or controul it.

In 1772, Mr. Tryon, governor of New York, made an attempt to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants, to that government. With this view* he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Dewey, and the inhabitants of Bennington, and the adjacent country, inviting them to lay before him the causes of their illegal proceedings; assuring them, that both he and the council were disposed to afford them such relief, as the situation and circumstances of the people would justify; and engaging full security and protection, to any persons they might choose to send to New York on the business, except Allen, Warner, and three others. Letters were written on this occasion to governor Tryon by the inhabitants, and by the excepted persons, in explanation of their conduct and principles; and Capt. Stephen Fay, and Mr. Jonas Fay, were chosen to wait upon the governor at New York, to negotiate the business. Upon their return, they reported that the governor received them with expressions of kindness, and laid the state of their grievances before the council; who made report, that they were desirous that his excellency should afford the inhabitants of those townships, all the relief in his power, by suspending until his Majesty's pleasure should be known, all prosecutions in behalf of the crown, on account of crimes with which they stood charged; and should recommend it to the owners of the contested lands, under grants from New York

* May 19.

Newyork to put a stop, during the same period, to all civil suits concerning those lands.*—But no measures or attempts of this kind, could avail, or be attended with any permanently good effects, while the original cause of contention remained. The whole property of the settlers, was the matter in contest. Their attempts to preserve this, appeared to them, not only justifiable, but necessary, and highly meritorious ; as being designed to preserve all, that man in any case, ever could have to defend. To the government of Newyork, their conduct appeared in a very different light, as acts of treason, and rebellion, perpetrated by lawless and violent men, in open and avowed opposition to the laws of their king and country.

While these different views of the controversy remained, the measures of both sides, instead of operating to remove the causes of contest, tended to increase the animosity, and to bring on a state of more open hostility. So high had the spirit of opposition and resentment arisen, in the course of these proceedings, that in 1774,† the government of Newyork passed an act, the most minatory and despotic, of any thing which had ever appeared, in the British colonies. Among other extraordinary exertions of vindictive power, it contained this singular clause : “ And in case the said offenders, shall not respectively surrender themselves pursuant to such orders of his excellency the governor, or of the governor and commander in chief for the time being, to be made in council as aforesaid ; he or they so neglecting or refusing to surrender himself, or themselves as aforesaid, [i. e. within the space of seventy days next after the first publication of the order] shall, from the day to be appointed for his or their surrendery

* Allen's Narrative, p. 49—68.

† March 9. Allen's Narrative, p. 23—36.

surrendery as aforesaid, be adjudged, deemed, and (if indicted for a capital offence hereafter to be perpetrated) to be convicted and attainted of felony, and shall suffer death, as in cases of persons convicted and attainted of felony by verdict and judgment, without benefit of clergy ; and that it shall and may be lawful to, and for the supreme court of judicature of this colony, or the courts of oyer and terminer, or general gaol delivery, for the respective counties aforesaid, to award execution against such offender or offenders, so indicted for a capital offence, perpetrated after the passing of this act, in such manner as if he or they had been convicted or attainted in the supreme courts of judicature, or before such courts of oyer and terminer, or general gaol delivery respectively." All crimes committed on the grants, were by this act subject to be tried in the county, and by the courts at Albany. At the same time, a proclamation was issued by the governor of Newyork, offering a reward of fifty pounds a head, for apprehending and securing Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and six others, of the most obnoxious of the settlers.

With this act all prospect of peace, or submission to the government of Newyork, ended. At a general meeting of the committees for the townships, on the west side of the green mountains, it was resolved :* " That for the future, every necessary preparation be made, and that our inhabitants hold themselves in readiness, at a minute's warning, to aid and defend such friends of ours, who, for their merit to the great and general cause, are falsely denominated rioters ; but that we will not act any thing, more or less, but on the defensive, and always encourage due execution of law, in civil cases, and also in criminal prosecutions, that are so indeed ; and that we will
assist,

assist, to the utmost of our power, the officers appointed for that purpose." The proscribed persons carried the matter still further, and in an address to the people of the county of Albany, and others who were situated contiguous to the New-hampshire grants, made this public declaration :* " We will *kill* and *destroy* any person or persons whomsoever, that shall *presume* to be accessory, aiding or assisting in taking any of us."

To avoid the government of Newyork, a plan was contrived about this time, by some of the inhabitants, and *Phillip Skeen*, to have the Newhampshire grants formed into a royal government, as a new province. *Skeen*, was a colonel in one of the king's regiments, and had large possessions on Lake Champlain. To effect his designs, he went to the court of Greatbritain, and seems to have met with some success. On March 16th, 1775, he wrote to one of the agents, that he was appointed to the government of Crown Point, and Tyconderoga ; and should soon call upon all the Hampshire inhabitants, for an address, to shew their loyalty to the king ; and he had no doubt, but they would shew themselves to be as loyal subjects, as he had represented them.†

An event took place in the spring of the year 1775, which served still further to exasperate all parties. In consequence of the proceedings of the British court, the American colonies had met in Congress, Sept. 5, 1774 ; and the Congress had advised the people to maintain their liberties, in such ways as should be found necessary. The courts of justice, which were held under the royal authority, in all the adjacent provinces, were either shut up,

* April 16. Page 45.

† *Skeen's* letter to Capt. Hawley, dated London, March 16, 1775.

or adjourned without doing any business. The court, in Cumberland county, was to have been holden at Westminster, on March 13th, 1775. Some of the inhabitants of that, and the adjacent towns, took possession of the court house at an early hour, to prevent the officers of the court from entering. Being refused admittance at the customary time of opening the court, the judges returned to their quarters: About eleven o'clock at night, the sheriff with the other officers of the court, attended by an armed force, repaired to the court house. Being refused admittance, some of the party fired into the house, killed one man, and wounded several. The people were inflamed to the highest degree, by this rash proceeding. The next day they assembled in large numbers, from all quarters: A coroner attended, and a jury of inquest brought in a verdict, that the man was murdered by the court party. Some of the officers were made prisoners, and carried to the gaol at Northampton, so in Massachusetts: But upon their application to the chief justice of Newyork, they were released from their confinement, and returned home.*—Highly irritated by this event, the committees of a large body of the people met at Westminster, April 11th, 1775: Among other measures, they came to the following resolve: "That it is the duty of the inhabitants, wholly to renounce and resist the administration of the government of Newyork, until such time as the lives and property of the inhabitants may be secured by it: Or until such time, as they can have opportunity to lay their grievances before his most gracious Majesty in council, together with a proper remonstrance against the unjustifiable conduct of that government, with an humble petition to be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction, and

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either

* Narrative of the Massacre at Westminster court house, by Reuben Jones.

either annexed to some other government, or created and incorporated into a new one, as may appear best for the inhabitants."*

Both parties were in this state of resentment and exasperation, when the American war broke out at Lexington, April 19th, 1775. By presenting new scenes, and greater objects, this event seems to have prevented either party from proceeding to hostilities; and turned their attention from their particular contest, to the general cause of America. The attention of all orders of men was immediately engaged; local and provincial contests were at once swallowed up, by the novelty, the grandeur, and the importance of the contest, that then opened between Britain and America.

The enterprising spirit of *Allen*, soon found a new object for its employment. At the commencement of hostilities with Britain, some of the principal leaders of the American measures, concluded it would be a matter of much importance, to secure the British forts on Lake Champlain, before they should get any intelligence of the American war. Arnold was sent from Connecticut, to engage the people on the Newhampshire grants; upon this expedition *Allen* immediately undertook the business, and in a few days raised a body of troops, which were esteemed sufficient for the purpose: and marched with Arnold, or rather put himself at the head of the troops. He managed with bravery and success, and took Tyconderoga and Crown Point, on May 10th. In the fall, he attended Montgomery at the siege of St. John's, but venturing to land on the island of Montreal with a few men, he was taken prisoner by the British, and suffered many hardships and abuses, during a long and severe imprisonment.

Warner, 10
* Proceedings of the committees met at Westminster, April 11, 1775.

Warner, who had also been proscribed by the governor of New York, entered with much spirit into the American cause. His attention, courage, and firmness, recommended him much to the officers, under which he served. Congress wished to have a regiment composed of the settlers upon the grants: The command of it was given to Warner; and on every occasion he proved a brave, judicious, and excellent officer.

Amidst all the difficulties the people had passed through, they had been without any form of civil government. The contest with New York had now ceased, and their attention was chiefly taken up, with the affairs of the war. The method in which they had managed their general concerns, was by meetings of towns and plantations, by committees, officers, and leaders, nominally appointed, and submitted to, by general consent and approbation. The people had been unable to raise any considerable sums of money, on any occasion; but the affairs of the war had so multiplied emissions of paper currency, that this difficulty was in some measure removed. But the constant difficulty and embarrassment, of conducting their public affairs without the advantages of government, had given rise to combinations of a general nature, among several of the towns; and partial conventions had been holden at several times, and places, on each side of the mountains. But no general plan of combination and union, had taken place; nor does it seem, that the people at this period of their affairs, had entertained the idea of forming themselves into an independent state. But it had become a matter of general inquiry and conversation, What should be done? And what measures ought to be adopted for the public safety?—The situation of the inhabitants at this time, seems to have approached nearly to what has been called by some, a state of nature. A large number of people were scattered

scattered over a large tract of country, in small settlements, at a great distance from each other, without any form of government, any established laws, or civil officers. Nature and necessity had forced them to associate, and to combine together, to promote their common safety and interest: But they had not entertained the idea, of setting up an independent government, or formed any plan for their future proceedings, or regulation. They seem to have been waiting, for the course of events to point out to them, what was practicable and prudent.

To obtain information, in the fall of the year 1775, some of the leading members went to Philadelphia, to procure the advice of Congress. They did not obtain any formal act or advice from that body, but upon their return dispersed a number of letters, representing it as the opinion of several members of Congress, that the people should form a temporary association, and government by committees and conventions, as the circumstances of the people might require.—Accordingly, on January 16, 1776, a convention met at Dorset, and drew up a petition to Congress. Their application they styled, “The humble petition, address, and remonstrance of that part of America, being situate south of Canada line, west of Connecticut river, commonly called and known by the name of the Newhampshire grants.” They avow their readiness to bear a full proportion of the American war, their ability and zeal in the common cause, and a willingness to be called upon for this purpose, whenever Congress should judge it necessary: But declare they are not willing to put themselves under the provincial government of New-York, lest it should be afterwards construed to imply an acknowledgment of that authority. They conclude with requesting, that whenever the Congress should find it necessary to call for their services, they may not be called upon as inhabitants of New-York,

or as persons subject to the limitations, restrictions, or regulations, of the militia of that province; but as inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants; and that whatever commissions, might be granted to any of the inhabitants, might consider them in that view.*

This was the first application, the people had ever made to Congress. The committee to whom it was referred, reported as their opinion, that it be recommended to the petitioners for the present, to submit to the government of New York, and to assist their countrymen in the contest with Great Britain; but that such submission, ought not to prejudice their right to any lands in controversy, or be construed to affirm or admit the jurisdiction of New York, over the country, when the present troubles should be ended.—This advice was such, as might have been expected: At a period when the fate of all the American colonies was at stake, the committee could not but wish, that all local or provincial controversies might subside: To avoid any decision upon the matter at that time, the petition was withdrawn.

On July the 4th, 1776, the Congress made a declaration of *Independence*; declaring in the name, and by the authority of the people of the United Colonies, that they were, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them, and the kingdom of Great Britain, was totally dissolved. By this sound and decisive policy, the United Colonies were delivered from the embarrassments, with which they had before been perplexed. It was no longer of any importance to them, what were the powers and prerogatives of the crown; or what was the origin, or extent of liberty, under the British constitution. One question only, remained to be decided; and that was,

* First petition to Congress, dated Dorset, Jan. 17, 1776.

was, Whether for the future, they were to be conquered provinces, or free and independent states.

But while the declaration of Independence, clearly stated to the United Colonies, the ground on which they were to stand; it left the people, on the New-hampshire grants, in a situation more uncertain and critical, than that, in which they had been before. Col. *Skeen* had obtained a commission from the crown, to be governor of Tyconderoga, Crown Point, and the adjacent country; but to what extent, was unknown. Newhampshire had renounced all political connexion with them. The controversy with New-york was reviving. The convention of that state had unanimously voted on August 2d, 1776, "That all quitrents formerly due to the king of Greatbritain, are now due, and owing to this convention, or such future government as shall hereafter be established in this state."* To submit to the claims of New-york, was to give up the whole of their property, and to reduce themselves to a state of dependence, and beggary. To oppose her claims and power, would probably bring on, not only a contest with New-york, but with the Congress also; And to continue without some form of government, was impossible.

A situation attended with so many difficulties, gave rise to a variety of opinions. Some were for attempting to return to Newhampshire: Others saw no other method of proceeding, but submission to New-york. The more resolute, were for assuming the powers of government, and hazarding all the consequences of such a measure. To ascertain what the prevailing opinion

* In the grants made by the governors of Newhampshire, the annual quitrents reserved to the crown on every hundred acres, were one shilling proclamation money, equal in value to nine pence sterling; in the grants made by the governors of New-york, these quitrents were raised to two shillings and six pence sterling.

opinion was, it was judged necessary to call a general convention. This convention was called by circular letters, from some of the most influential persons; it consisted of fifty one members, representing thirty five towns, and met at Dorset, July 24th, 1776. At this session, the convention agreed to enter into an association among themselves, for the defence of the liberties of their country: But that they would not associate with either of the counties, or with the provincial Congress of Newyork; and that any of the inhabitants of the Newhampshire grants, who should enter into such an association, should be deemed enemies to the common cause.

The sentiments of the people, were now very generally tending, towards a total separation from Newyork. On September the 25th, the convention met again, and resolved without any dissentient vote, "to take suitable measures as soon as may be, to declare the Newhampshire grants, a free and separate district."—And that "no law or laws, direction or directions from the state of Newyork, should be accepted."

In January 1777, a general convention of representatives from the towns on both sides of the mountains met at Westminster. The sentiments of their constituents, were now, well known: And after a very serious debate and consultation, the convention concluded that there was no other way of safety left, but to form themselves into a new state, and assume all the powers of government. Accordingly, on January 16th, having resolved upon this measure, they made and published the following declaration:

"This convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns on the Newhampshire grants, in public meeting assembled, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, Do hereby proclaim, and publicly declare, that the district of territory comprehending,

hending, and usually known, by the name and description of the Newhampshire grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a free and independent jurisdiction, or state; to be forever hereafter called, known, and distinguished, by the name of *Newconnecticut*, alias *Vermont*: And that the inhabitants that at present, or that may hereafter become resident within said territory, shall be entitled to the same privileges, immunities, and enfranchisements which are, or that may at any time hereafter be allowed, to the inhabitants of any of the free and independent states of America: And that such privileges, and immunities, shall be regulated in a bill of rights, and by a form of government, to be established at the next session of this convention.”*

Having taken this decisive step, they drew up a declaration and petition to Congress, in which they announce to that body, as the grand representative of the United States, that they had made and published a declaration, “that they would at all times thereafter, consider themselves as a free and independent state, capable of regulating their own internal police, in all, and every respect whatsoever; and that the people in the said described district, had the sole exclusive right of governing themselves, in such manner and form, as they, in their wisdom, should choose; not repugnant to any resolves of the honourable, the continental Congress:—And that they were at all times ready, in conjunction with their brethren in the United States, to contribute their full proportion towards the maintaining the present just war, against the fleets and armies of Great Britain.”† They petition Congress that their declaration might be received, that the district therein described, might be ranked among the free and independent

* Records of the Convention.

† Copy, attested by J. Fay, clerk.

pendent American States; and delegates therefrom, be admitted to a seat in Congress. This declaration and petition was signed, and presented to Congress in behalf of the inhabitants, by four of the most respectable members of the convention; *Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen, and Reuben Jones.*

No measure was ever more necessary, or more happily chosen, than this. Newhampshire had wholly rejected them. They never had submitted to the government of Newyork, but steadfastly opposed her authority. By the dissolution of all connexion with the crown of Greatbritain, they concluded they were no longer subject to the claims of Newyork, founded on the arbitrary decisions of that crown. The period was now come, when as they expressed it, they were reduced to a state of nature. Some form of government, must be adopted. They had the same right to assume the powers of government, that the Congress had. The step seemed to be absolutely necessary, for the immediate safety and protection of the people: And now was the time, when the powers of government could be assumed, with the greatest safety and advantage. To be irresolute or timid, was to lose an opportunity, which might never return: And whatever opposition might be made to their measures, they could meet it with greater force, when they had declared themselves a free and independent state, and knew by what authority they acted. Every part of the United States, was at that period, contending against oppression; and every consideration that could justify the proceedings of Congress, was a reason, why the people of Vermont, should take that opportunity, effectually to guard against their former sufferings. Happily for themselves, and for the state, they adapted that firm and temperate policy, which alone was adequate to the object.

C H A P. X.

Proceedings of Newyork. Resolves of Congress. Controversy with Newhampshire. Claims of Newhampshire, Newyork, and Massachusetts. Appointment of Commissioners, to confer with the Inhabitants. Interposition of Congress. Conduct of Vermont. Measures pursued by Congress. Further Claims of Vermont. Proceedings and Views of the British Generals, and Ministers. Resolutions of Congress. Proceedings of Vermont, Newyork, and Newhampshire. Advice of General Washington. Proceedings of Vermont. Votes of Congress. Remarks on the Design, and Effect of those Votes.

THE conduct of Vermont in declaring their independence, was viewed by the adjacent states, in very different lights. Newhampshire appeared willing to admit, and acknowledge it. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, the measure was rather applauded, than condemned. But to Newyork, the conduct of the people in attempting to form a new state, appeared as a dangerous revival of their former opposition and rebellion to lawful authority.

The committee of safety for that state, were then sitting. Apprehensive of the consequences, they immediately took up the matter; and by their direction, the president of the Newyork convention, on January 20th, 1777, gave this information to Congress, "I am directed by the committee of safety of
Newyork,

Newyork, to inform Congress, " that by the arts and influence of certain designing men, a part of this state hath been prevailed on to revolt, and disavow the authority of its legislature.—The various evidences and informations we have received would lead us to believe that persons of great influence in some of our sister states, have fostered and fomented these divisions.—But as these informations tend to accuse some members of your honourable body, of being concerned in this scheme, decency obliges us to suspend our belief.—The convention are sorry to observe, that by conferring a commission upon Col. Warner, with authority to name the officers of a regiment, to be raised independently of the legislature of this state, and within that part of it, which hath lately declared an independence upon it, Congress hath given but too much weight to the insinuations of those, who pretend that your honourable body are determined to support these insurgents ; especially, as this Col. Warner, hath been constantly and invariably opposed to the legislature of this state, and hath been, on that very account, proclaimed an outlaw by the late government thereof.—It is absolutely necessary to recall the commissions given to Col. Warner, and the officers under him, as nothing else will do justice to us, and convince those deluded people, that Congress have not been prevailed on to assist in dismembering a state, which of all others, has suffered the most in the common cause."* To persuade Congress to engage in this cause, another application was made to that body, on March the 1st : In this the convention of Newyork represent, that they depend upon the justice of that honourable house, to adapt every wise and

* Attested copy of a letter from the Honourable A. Ten Broek, president of the convention of Newyork, dated Jan, 20, 1777.

and salutary expedient, to suppress the mischiefs which must ensue to that state and to the general confederacy, from the unjust and pernicious projects of such of the inhabitants of Newyork, as merely from selfish and interested motives, have fomented the dangerous insurrection: That Congress might be assured that the spirit of defection, notwithstanding all the arts and violence of the seducers, was by no means general: That the county of Gloucester, and a very great part of Cumberland, and Charlotte counties, continued steadfast in their allegiance to the government of Newyork; and that there was not the least probability, that Col. Warner could raise such a number of men, as would be an object of public concern.*

The proceedings of Vermont had now assumed a regular form, and become an object of general attention. In April, a paper was printed at Philadelphia, subscribed Thomas Young, and addressed to the inhabitants of Vermont: To this address was prefixed a resolution, which Congress had passed May 15, 1776, recommending to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs had been already established, to adopt such government, as in the opinion of the representatives of the people, should best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents. In the address to the inhabitants of Vermont, were these paragraphs: "I have taken the minds of several leading members, in the honourable the continental Congress, and can assure you, that you have nothing to do, but to send attested copies of the recommendation to take up government to every township in your district, and invite all your freeholders and inhabitants to meet in their respective townships, and choose

* Letter from A. Ten Broeck of March 1, 1777.

choose members for a general convention, to meet at an early day, to choose delegates for the general Congress, a committee of safety, and to form a constitution for your state. Your friends here tell me, that some are in doubt, whether delegates from your district, would be admitted into Congress. I tell you to organize fairly, and make the experiment, and I will ensure your success, at the risk of my reputation as a man of honour or common sense. Indeed they can by no means refuse you! You have as good a right to choose how you will be governed, and by whom, as they had.”*

Publications and measures thus avowing the cause, and designed to establish the independence of Vermont, were beheld by New York, with great indignation and concern. On May the 28th, the council of safety for that state, made a third attempt to engage the attention of Congress: By their direction, their president wrote to that body, that a report prevailed and daily gained credit, that the revoltors were privately countenanced in their designs, by certain members of Congress; that they esteemed it their duty to give them such information, that by proper resolutions on the subject, Congress might cease to be injured, by imputations so disgraceful and dishonourable. “However unwilling we may be to entertain suspicions so disrespectful to any member of Congress, yet the truth is, that no inconsiderable numbers of the people of this state, do believe the report to be well founded.”†

To bring Congress to some decision upon the matter, on June 23d, one of the delegates of New York laid before that body, the printed letter and publication of Thomas Young. Congress took up the

* Printed letter to the inhabitants of Vermont, April 11, 1777, by T. Young.

† Pierre Van Cortlandt's letter to Congress, May 28, 1777.

the matter, and ordered the printed paper, the letters which had been received from the convention of Newyork, and from the inhabitants of the Newhampshire grants, to be referred to a committee of the whole ; and after several adjournments, on June 30th, passed the following resolves :

“ Resolved, That Congress is composed of delegates chosen by, and representing the communities respectively inhabiting the territories of Newhampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, Newyork, Newjersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Northcarolina, Southcarolina, and Georgia, as they respectively stood at the time of its first institution ; that it was instituted for the purpose of securing and defending the communities aforesaid, against the usurpations, oppressions, and hostile invasions of Greatbritain ; and therefore it cannot be intended that Congress by any of its proceedings would do, or recommend, or countenance, any thing injurious to the rights and jurisdiction of the several communities, which it represents.

“ Resolved, That the independent government attempted to be established by the people, styling themselves inhabitants of the Newhampshire grants, can derive no countenance, or justification, from the act of Congress declaring the United Colonies to be independent of the crown of Greatbritain ; nor from any other act, or resolution of Congress.

“ Resolved, That the petition of Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen, and Reuben Jones, in the name and behalf of the people, styling themselves as aforesaid, praying that ‘ their declaration that they would consider themselves as a free and independent state, may be received ; that the district in the said petition described, may be ranked among the free and independent states ; and that delegates therefrom

therefrom may be admitted to seats in Congress,' be dismissed.

"*Resolved*, That Congress by raising and officer-
ing the regiment, commanded by Col. Warner,
never meant to give any encouragement to the claim
of the people aforesaid, to be considered as an inde-
pendent state; but that the reason which induced
Congress to form that corps, was, that many officers
of different states, who had served in Canada, and
alleged that they could soon raise a regiment, but
were then unprovided for, might be reinstated in the
service of the United States."

Having recited the paragraphs in the letter from
Thomas Young, which have been quoted, they next
resolve, " That the contents of the said paragraphs,
are derogatory to the honour of Congress, are a gross
misrepresentation of the resolution of Congress there-
in referred to, and tend to deceive and mislead the
people to whom they are addressed."*

These resolves were favourable to the government
of Newyork: From their spirit and style, and the
manner in which the business was introduced, the
people of Vermont concluded, they were drawn up
under the influence of that state; and that their in-
dependence must be supported, with the same firm-
ness and spirit, with which it had been declared:
And they served only to confirm the resolution of a
people, who with all the hardihood of antiquity,
were well acquainted with the nature and origin of
their own rights.

During this period, no controversy had arisen
with Newhampshire. That state had gone farther
than any other, to admit and acknowledge the inde-
pendence of Vermont.—On the 6th of July, 1777,
the American army stationed at Tyconderoga, was
forced to abandon that important post to the formi-
dable

* Journal of Congress, June, 1777, p. 258, 259, 260.

dable army commanded by General Burgoyne. The people in most of the towns on the west side of the mountains, were obliged to abandon their habitations, with circumstances of great distress and confusion.

The convention of Vermont was then sitting, at Windsor. Their committee wrote in the most pressing terms,* to the committee of safety at Exeter in Newhampshire, for assistance; informing them at the same time, if none should be afforded, they must immediately retire into the Newengland states, for support and safety. The assembly of Newhampshire was immediately called together: They put a large body of their militia under the command of General Stark, and gave him orders to "repair to Charlestown on Connecticut river; there to consult with a committee of the Newhampshire grants, respecting his future operations, and the supply of his men with provisions; to take the command of the militia, and march into the grants; to act in conjunction with the troops of that new state, or any other of the states, or of the United States."† About the same time,‡ Mr. *Weare* president of Newhampshire, in behalf of the council and assembly, wrote to *Ira Allen*, secretary of the state of Vermont, announcing the assistance they were sending; the style and expressions of his letter were addressed to Vermont, as a free and sovereign, but a new state. From these events it was not doubted in Vermont, but that Newhampshire had already acknowledged her independence; and would use her influence, to have it acknowledged by Congress.

But the conduct of some of the inhabitants of Newhampshire, soon occasioned a controversy of a very

* July 8.

† Belknap's History of Newhampshire, Vol. II. 419.

‡ July 19.

very serious nature, with that state. Newhampshire was originally granted as a province, to John Mason ; and was circumscribed by a line, drawn at the distance of sixty miles from the sea. All the lands to the westward of that line, were properly royal grants, and had been annexed to Newhampshire, by force of royal commissions. The inhabitants on the eastern side of Connecticut river, well knew what the original bounds of Newhampshire were ; and they were desirous to join the inhabitants on the west side of the river, in setting up a new state.—With these views, it was not a difficult thing, to find reasons to justify their proceedings. They urged, that the province of Newhampshire could not originally extend further, than sixty miles from the sea coast : That the additional towns were annexed to that state, solely by virtue of the royal commissions : That these commissions could be of force, or operate no longer, than while the power of the crown subsisted : That as all royal authority was done away, the obligations which had annexed them to the province of Newhampshire, was done away with it : And that it now belonged to the people to determine, what state they would join, and what government they would be under.* These ideas were propagated with much success, in the towns adjoining Connecticut river ; conventions were holden, and in the course of a few months,† a petition was presented in the name of sixteen towns in Newhampshire, announcing “ that they were not connected with any state, with respect to their internal police,” and requesting the state of Vermont, to receive them into an union and confederation with them.

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* Observations on the right of jurisdiction of Newhampshire grants: Printed 1778. Public defence of the right of Newhampshire grants, &c. Printed 1779.

† March 12, 1778.

The assembly of Vermont was perplexed with this application. Most of the members from the west side of the mountains, viewed it as a dangerous measure ; and the majority of the assembly, appeared to be against receiving any of the towns from Newhampshire. The towns in Vermont which adjoined to Connecticut river, were generally in favour of receiving the towns from Newhampshire ; and went so far as to propose withdrawing from their connexion with Vermont, and setting up another state. There was no method to preserve their own union, but to refer the question to the decision of the people : And the party in favour of the Newhampshire proposals, were extremely diligent and active, in securing a majority of the members, against the next meeting of the assembly. When the assembly met, it was represented to them, that the inhabitants of the towns which had applied for a union with Vermont, were almost unanimous in their votes, and that Newhampshire, as a state, would not object against said towns joining with Vermont.* A vote was carried in favour of their union and confederation :† And the assembly of Vermont resolved further, That any other towns on the east side of Connecticut river, might also be admitted into the union, on producing a vote of the majority of the inhabitants, or on their sending a representative to the assembly of Vermont.—Having thus effected their purposes, the sixteen towns announced to the government of Newhampshire, that they had withdrawn from their jurisdiction, and wished to have a divisional line established, and a friendly correspondence kept up.‡

These

* Allen's vindication of the conduct of the general assembly, &c. page 13.

† June 11, 1778.

‡ June 25.

These proceedings were founded upon principles, which might introduce endless contentions and divisions, among the United States; and they justly proved greatly alarming to Newhampshire.

Mesheck Weare, Esq; was at that time president of that state, a gentleman of great wisdom and virtue. In the name of the assembly he wrote to Mr. *Chittenden* governor of Vermont,* claiming the sixteen towns as part of the state of Newhampshire. His claim was founded on the known boundaries of that state, before the revolution; on their sending delegates to the convention, in 1775; on their applying to the assembly of Newhampshire, for arms and ammunition; on their receiving commissions from the government, and having always acted as a part of it. He gave information at the same time, that the minority in those towns, had claimed protection from that state; which the assembly of Newhampshire, viewed themselves as bound on every consideration, to afford. And he urged the governor of Vermont, to exert his influence with their assembly, to dissolve so irregular and dangerous a connexion.—That he might avail himself of the highest authority in America, Mr. *Weare* wrote also to the delegates of that state in Congress,† urging them to take advice, and procure the interposition of Congress; intimating his apprehensions, that this would be the only method, in which the controversy could be settled, without the effusion of blood, as all attempts for reconciliation had been in vain.

Nor were the governor and council of Vermont without their difficulties, in the management of these affairs. To guide the movements of a people, irritated by a long series of injuries, and now too much elated by success, was a critical and difficult business. Aware of the applications that would be made to Congress,

* August 22,

† August 19.

Congress, in September they sent Col. Ethan Allen, as their advocate to that body; and to procure information, in what light their proceedings were viewed at Philadelphia. Upon his return he made report,* that Congress was unanimously opposed, to their forming any connexions with the people of Newhampshire: And that if those proceedings were disannulled, none of the members of Congress, except the delegates from Newyork, would oppose their independence.

The next assembly of Vermont met in October, at Windsor. Representatives from ten of the sixteen towns, took their seats in the assembly. A question was moved, "Whether the towns on the east side of Connecticut river, which had been admitted into an union with Vermont, should be erected into a county by themselves? The vote passed in the negative. Finding by this, and some other votes, that the assembly declined to do any thing more, to extend their jurisdiction to the east of Connecticut river, the members from those towns withdrew from the assembly, and were followed by fifteen of the representatives from some of the towns in Vermont, adjoining to the river, with the deputy governor, and two assistants. The assembly of Vermont consisted of but sixty members, two thirds of which were necessary to make a house, to do business: And this, was just the number that was left, when the seceding members had withdrawn. The remaining members went on with the public business, and continued their session, until the business of it was finished: But he referred the matter to their constituents, to instruct them how to proceed with regard to the union with Newhampshire, at their next session.†—The members who had withdrawn themselves

* October 10.

† Allen's Vindication, p. 14. 16. 22. 44.

themselves from the assembly, formed into a convention, and gave an invitation to the towns on both sides of Connecticut river, to unite, and to meet with them, in a convention at Cornish, in Newhampshire, Dec. 9, 1778.—The interests and views which produced these proceedings, were pretty well understood, and proved greatly injurious to Vermont. The people on both sides of Connecticut river, wished to form a government, the center and seat of which, should be upon the river. The people on the west side of the mountains, were averse to this plan, and to any connexion with Newhampshire.

On December the 9th, the convention which had been called, met at Cornish, one of the sixteen towns. They agreed to unite, without any regard to the limits which had been assigned to Newhampshire, in 1764; and to make the following proposals to that government. Either to agree with them on a divisional line, or to submit the dispute to Congress, or to arbitrators mutually chosen. If neither of these proposals should be accepted, and they could agree with Newhampshire upon a plan of government, they resolved further, "We will consent that the whole of the grants connect with Newhampshire, and become with them one entire state, as it was limited and bounded, before the settling of the said line in 1764." Until one of these proposals should be complied with, they resolved to trust in providence, and defend themselves.*—There were but eight towns from Vermont, which were represented in this convention; and some of them declined to act in making any overtures to Newhampshire, to extend their jurisdiction over the state of Vermont. But the proceedings of the convention, served to discover to the whole body of the people, what had been the views of the leading men, in proposing the union
of

* Allen's Vindication, p. 32, 33.

of the sixteen towns from Newhampshire: It was now manifest, that their whole aim, had been to form a government, the center and seat of which, should be upon Connecticut river. This would be affected, either by connecting a considerable part of Newhampshire, with Vermont; or by breaking up the government of Vermont, and connecting the whole of it, with Newhampshire: The one or the other of these measures, they were earnest to effect; and either of them would probably have formed a state, the metropolis of which, must have been upon the river which divides the two states.—To get rid of a connexion, which had occasioned so much trouble and danger, the assembly of Vermont, on Feb. 12, 1779, voted to dissolve the union, which had subsisted between them, and the towns in Newhampshire; and immediately communicated their resolves to that government.* Encouraged by these divisions, the assembly of Newhampshire was persuaded by some of her leading members, to claim the whole tract of country, which belonged to her before the royal determination in 1764: Accordingly that state put into Congress, a claim to the whole territory of Vermont. Newyork took the same step, and put in her claim to the whole of the lands. As Newhampshire had not the least pretence, upon any principle whatever, to make such a claim it was not doubted in Vermont, but that intrigues had been formed by the leading men in those two states, to divide Vermont between them. The range of mountains, which runs through the state, would afford a natural line, for such a division: And this measure would unite the two states of Newhampshire and Newyork; and put an end to all future controversy, with the people of Vermont; either respecting their limits, the validity of their grants, or the powers of government which

* 1779, June 24.

which they had assumed. And if these two states could be united, there was a fair prospect that the rest would leave them to settle the affairs of Vermont, which began to bear a very serious aspect, and might prove troublesome to Congress.—The other states had not as yet concerned themselves, about these controversies; but Massachusetts now interposed. Whether aiming to disappoint the views of New-hampshire and Newyork, or in earnest to secure a part of the controverted lands, that state also put in a claim to a large part of Vermont: And her claim had a much better appearance, than that of New-hampshire: For although the line between Massachusetts and Newhampshire might be esteemed to be settled, yet the line between Massachusetts and Newyork had never been determined.

While these controversies had been carried on with Newhampshire, the debate with Newyork had not at all subsided. In a letter of July 7th, 1778, Mr. *Clinton*, governor of Newyork, wrote to one of his friends in Vermont, that he “would still as on a former occasion, earnestly recommend a firm and prudent resistance to the draughting of men, raising taxes, and the exercise of every act of government, under the ideal Vermont state; and in such towns, where our friends are sufficiently powerful for the purpose, I would advise the entering into association, for the mutual defence of their persons and estates against this usurpation.”* In a letter of July 8th, he warmly urged Congress to come to some decision on their controversy with Vermont; blamed the inhabitants for the violence of their proceedings, affirmed that it would soon bring on a civil war, and that all the grievances of the people of Vermont had suffered, arose from the former government of Newyork, and not from the present.†

In

* Copy of a letter from governor *Clinton*, to Pelatiah Fitch, Esq;

† Attested copy.

In 1779, the controversy with Newyork bore a more hostile appearance. There were several persons in the southeast part of the state, then called the county of Cumberland by Newyork, who were attached to the authority of that state, and opposed the government of Vermont. To some of them, governor *Clinton* had given commissions. They asserted that they had a regiment, of about five hundred men; and that a committee of the county, was also opposed to the authority of Vermont. The government of Vermont found it necessary, to put an end to these hostile associations; and Col. *Ethan Allen* was directed to raise a part of the militia, for that purpose. Upon this intelligence, a Colonel bearing a commission under the government of Newyork, wrote to governor *Clinton* for his advice and direction, suggesting the necessity of having the militia of Albany held in readiness to attack any armed force, that should gather with that design; and that it would be an easy thing to get intelligence, by employing the enemies of Vermont, in their own towns, to give information.* In answer to this application, the governor of Newyork recommended in general, firmness and prudence, and in no instance to acknowledge the authority of Vermont, unless where there was no alternative left between submission and inevitable ruin: He assured them, at the same time, that if any attempt was made by Vermont to reduce them by force of arms, he would instantly issue his orders to the militia, who were properly equipped, and who would be led against the enemies of the state, wherever they might happen to be.†

Alarmed with these prospects, Mr. *Clinton* wrote to the president of Congress, May the 18th, that

matters

* Patterson's letter to Governor Clinton, of May 5, 1779; and Minot's petition of May 4, 1779.

† Clinton's letter to S. Minot, of May, 14, 1779.

matters were fast approaching to a very serious crisis, which nothing but the immediate interposition of Congress, could possibly prevent; that he daily expected he should be obliged to order out a force, for the defence of those who adhered to Newyork; that the wisdom of Congress would suggest to them, what would be the consequence of submitting the controversy, especially at that juncture, to the decision of the sword; but that justice, the faith of government, the peace and safety of society, would not permit them, to continue any longer passive spectators of the violence committed on their fellow citizens.* These letters, and sundry other papers relating to the disputes with Newhampshire, were laid before Congress, May 29th, 1779, and were referred to a committee of the whole. On June 1st, Congress resolved, "that a committee be appointed to repair to the inhabitants of a certain district, known by the name of the Newhampshire grants, and inquire into the reasons why they refuse to continue citizens of the respective states, which heretofore exercised jurisdiction over the said district. And that they take every prudent measure to promote an amicable settlement of all differences, and prevent divisions and animosities, so prejudicial to the United States."†

While the governor of Newyork was taking these measures with the party that adhered to him in Vermont, and with Congress, *Allen* marched with an armed force, and made prisoners of the Colonel, and militia officers, who were acting under the authority of Newyork. Complaint was immediately made to governor *Clinton*, with an earnest request, that he would take the most speedy and effectual measures for their relief.‡ On June the 7th, Mr.

H. h

Clinton

* Clinton's letter to Congress, of May 18, 1779.

† Journal of Congress, June 1, 1779, p. 237.

‡ S. Minor's letter to governor Clinton, of May 25, 1779.

Clinton wrote again to Congress, informing them what had happened, disapproving of their measures, and particularly of the appointment of a committee to confer with the inhabitants ; and wishing their journey might be postponed, until the legislature of Newyork should be convened, and take the resolutions of Congress under consideration. On the 16th, Congress resolved that the officers who had been thus restrained of their liberty, ought to be immediately liberated ; and that their committee who were appointed to confer with the inhabitants should be directed to make inquiry into the matters and things contained in governor *Clinton's* letters ; and that all further proceedings be postponed, until they should report.*

Five commissioners were appointed to repair to Vermont : Of these but two, Dr. *Witherspoon*, and Mr. *Atle*, attended. These gentlemen repaired to Bennington, in June ; made many inquiries, and had several conferences with the friends of Vermont, and with others who were in the interest of Newyork. They proposed several questions to the governor of Vermont, to which he returned written answers. Their aim seems to have been, to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. Upon their return they made a report to Congress, July 13th ; but which evidently denoted, that no part of the business on which they were sent, had been effected.†

Four different claims were now before Congress, to the same tract of country ; and the controversy had become so intricate, and warm, that very serious consequences were justly to be feared. It became necessary for Congress to interpose ; and as all par-

* Journal of Congress, June 16, 1779, p. 259, 260.

† Account of the proceedings of Mr. *Witherspoon*, and Mr. *Atle*.

ties had appealed to that body, they could no longer avoid coming to some resolutions upon a matter, which seemed essentially to concern the union of the states. Accordingly on September 24, 1779, Congress, among other resolves, passed the following: "Resolved unanimously, That it be, and hereby is most earnestly recommended, to the states of New-hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, and Newyork, forthwith to pass laws, expressly authorising Congress, to hear and determine all differences between them, relative to their respective boundaries.—Resolved unanimously, That Congress will on the first day of February next, proceed without delay, to hear and examine into the disputes and differences relative to jurisdiction aforesaid, between the said three states respectively, or such of them as shall pass the laws beforementioned on the one part, and the people of the district aforesaid, who claim to be a separate jurisdiction on the other, and after a full and fair hearing, will decide and determine the same according to equity.—Resolved unanimously, That it is the duty of the people of the district aforesaid, who deny the jurisdiction of all the aforementioned states, to abstain in the mean time, from exercising any power over any of the inhabitants of the said district, who profess themselves to be citizens of, or to owe allegiance to any or either of the said states, but that none of the towns, either on the east or west side of Connecticut river, be considered as included within the said district, but such as have hitherto actually joined in denying the jurisdiction of either of said states, and have assumed a separate jurisdiction, which they call the state of Vermont.—And further, That in the opinion of Congress, the said three states aforementioned, ought in the mean time to suspend executing their laws over any of the inhabitants of said district, except such of them, as shall profess allegiance to, and confess the jurisdiction of the same respectively.—

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That in the opinion of Congress, no unappropriated lands or estates, which are or may be adjudged forfeited or confiscated, lying in said district, ought until the final decision of Congress in the premises, to be granted or sold.”*

From these resolutions it was apparent, that the views of Congress were to evade any determination, and to pacify and quiet all parties for the present; and that it was of much more importance, in their view, to preserve the union and affection of the free states, than that of Vermont. At a time when the fate of America depended upon preserving the union of the states, and all might have been lost by the disaffection of any one, perhaps this evasive policy was the best. It seems to have quieted all parties but Vermont. The states of Newhampshire, and Newyork, passed the acts which Congress had called for. Massachusetts did not, and probably with a view to prevent the district of Vermont from being sacrificed by either, or both of the other states.

It was impossible that Vermont should comply with the resolves of Congress. To have four separate jurisdictions existing at the same time, in the same territory, as the resolutions recommended, would at any time have been absurd and impossible; least of all was it to be admitted or attempted, after the people had declared themselves to be a free and independent state, assumed the powers of government, and exercised them in all cases, and in every part of the state. They had already formed their constitution, enacted a code of laws, erected courts of justice, and fully exercised all the powers of government. The plan of four separate jurisdictions, which Congress proposed, was incompatible with any state of society; and the more dangerous, as Newyork was constantly aiming to break up the government

* Journal of Congress, September 24, 1779.

government of Vermont, by granting commissions to her adherents, encouraging informers, and promoting disaffected persons, in every part of the territory; and at the same time, denied their titles to their lands, and all the public acts of the state.

Nothing remained for Vermont in this situation, but to take a decisive part; and support with firmness and resolution, the independence which her representatives had declared, by the desire of the people. Her rulers did not prove deficient in resolution: Well acquainted with their own rights and interests, they determined not to sacrifice them, either to the intrigues of the adjacent states, or to the policy of Congress. The governor and council published an appeal to the candid and impartial world,* in which they declare that "they could not view themselves as holden either in the sight of God or man, to submit to the execution of a plan, which they had reason to believe was commenced by neighbouring states: That the liberties and privileges of the state of Vermont, by said resolutions, are to be suspended upon the arbitrament and final determination of Congress, when in their opinion they were things too sacred ever to be arbitrated upon at all; and what they were bound to defend, at every risk; That the Congress of the United States had no right to intermeddle in the internal police, and government of Vermont: That the state existed independent of any of the thirteen United States, and was not accountable to them, or to their representatives, for liberty, the gift of the beneficent Creator: That the state of Vermont was not represented in Congress, and could not submit to resolutions passed without their consent, or even knowledge, and which put every thing that was valuable to

* Drawn up by Stephen R. Bradley, Esq; published Dec. 19, 1779.

to them, at stake : That there appeared a manifest inequality, not to say predetermination, that Congress should request of their constituents power to judge and determine in the cause, and never ask the consent of thousands, whose all was at stake : They also declared that they were, and ever had been ready to bear their proportion of the burden and expense of the war with Greatbritain, from its first commencement, whenever they were admitted into the union with the other states : But they were not so lost to all sense, and honour, that after four years war with Britain, in which they had expended so much blood and treasure, that they should now give up every thing worth fighting for, the right of making their own laws, and choosing their own form of government, to the arbitrament and determination of any man, or body of men, under heaven."

It seems to have been the desire and expectation of all parties, that Congress should take up the matter, as they had proposed, on February 1, 1780. Vermont had now acquired such numbers, popularity, and power, that much was to be expected from having her claims thoroughly understood, and considered by the United States. But instead of being decided, the matter was not taken up at all, on the 1st of February ; and on March 21st, it was ordered by Congress that the matter be postponed, nine states, exclusive of those who were parties in the question, not being represented.* On June 2d, Congress resolved that the proceedings of the people of the Newhampshire grants were highly unwarrantable, and subversive of the peace and welfare of the United States ; and that they be strictly required to forbear from any acts of authority civil or military, over those of the people, who professed allegiance to
other

* Journal of Congress, March 21, 1780, p. 48, 49.

other states : And on June the 9th, they resolved to defer the matter to the second Tuesday in September.*—Upon the receipt of these resolves, the governor of Vermont, by the advice of his council, replied, that “however Congress might view those resolutions, they were considered by the people of Vermont, as being in their nature subversive of the natural right which they had to liberty and independence, as well as incompatible with the principles on which Congress grounded their own right to independence, and had a natural and direct tendency to endanger the liberties of America ; that Vermont being a free and independent state, had denied the authority of Congress to judge of their jurisdiction ; that as they were not included in the thirteen United States, if necessitated to it, they were at liberty to offer or accept terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, without the approbation of any other man, or body of men ; for, on proviso that neither Congress, nor the legislatures of those states which they represent, will support Vermont in her independence, but devote her to the usurped government of any other power, she had not the most distant motive to continue hostilities with Great Britain, and maintain an important frontier, for the benefit of the United States, and for no other reward than the ungrateful one, of being enslaved by them ; but notwithstanding the usurpations and injustice of neighbouring governments towards Vermont, and the late resolutions of Congress, from a principle of virtue, and close attachment to the cause of liberty, as well as from a thorough examination of their own policy, they were induced once more to offer union with the United States of America, of which Congress were the legal representative body.”†

In

* Journal of Congress, March 21, 1780, p. 81, 82. 84.

† Gov. Chittenden's letter to Congress, of July 25th, 1780.

In September, there seems to have been a more serious attempt, to bring the contest to some decision. The claims of Newhampshire, and Newyork, were put in; and both these states pleaded that Vermont had no right to independence, but belonged to them. The agents of Vermont were also present,* but were not considered or treated by Congress, as the agents or representatives of any state, or of a people invested with legislative authority. They announced their business to Congress, and requested that when any debates came before Congress, which might affect the rights, the sovereignty, or independence of the state of Vermont, they might be admitted to be present. On September 19th, they received a notification to attend Congress that day, on the hearing of the question respecting the jurisdiction of the Newhampshire grants. On that day, and the next, the agents from Newyork exhibited their evidence to show that the people on the Newhampshire grants, belonged to them, and had no right to a separate and independent jurisdiction. The question respecting the right to jurisdiction, Vermont had always refused to submit to the determination of Congress: And the agents were alarmed, to find by the mode of proceeding, that Congress was admitting evidence to decide this question, without admitting Vermont as one of the parties; or considering her agents in any other character, than that of private persons. They esteemed it their duty, to protest against the whole proceeding; and on September 22d, they put in a remonstrance to Congress: They declare they can no longer sit as idle spectators, without betraying the trust reposed in them, and doing violence to their own feelings; that by the mode of trial which was adopted, the state of Vermont could have no hearing, without denying

* The Honourable Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley.

denying their own existence, and that they would not take on themselves that humility and selfabasement, as to lose their political life in order to find it ; they declared their readiness to bear a full proportion in all the expenses of the American war, until it should be ended, and their willingness that one or more of the legislatures of the independent states, should interpose as mediators, and settle the dispute ; but reprobate every idea of Congress sitting, as a court of judicature, to determine the dispute by virtue of authority given them, by the act or acts of the state or states, which made but one party ; they conclude with observing, that if the matter is thus pursued, they stand ready to appeal to God and the world, who must be accountable for the awful consequences that may ensue.*—Having heard the evidence on the part of Newhampshire, on September 27th, Congress resolved that the further consideration of the subject should be postponed.†

At no time had the spirit of parties run higher, than at this period. During the whole of this trial, it does not appear that either of the contending parties, had any ideas of conciliatory measures ; all seem to have been determined to effect their purposes : And although Vermont was not admitted to appear as one of the parties before Congress, her expectations and prospects, had at no time been so high. She well understood the ground, on which she stood ; and it was generally believed in the other states, that some of her leading men would incline to join with Canada, and make the best terms they could with the British government, if no alternative was held out to them, but submission to the government of New-York.

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* Remonstrance of Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley to Congress, September 22, 1780.

† Journal of Congress, September 12, 19, 20, 27, 1780, p. 186—197.

York. In this state of the parties it was as dangerous to the American cause, to decide against Vermont, as against Newhampshire, or Newyork. Congress felt, and wisely endeavoured to avoid the difficulty : A question was made, whether Congress had any power to form a new state, within the limits of the union.—Those who remember the virulence of these parties, and the precarious situation of the American contest at that time, will not wonder that Congress found reasons, to avoid coming to any decision at that period ; for no decision could have been made, that would not have proved highly irritating to some of those states, already too much inflamed, by the violence, and duration of the controversy.

Disappointed in her expectations of admission into the federal union, and alarmed by the measures that were pursued by Newhampshire and Newyork, Vermont now endeavoured to increase her own internal strength, by pursuing the same measures, that had been adopted by those states, of claiming jurisdiction.—Most of the inhabitants of the towns in the western parts of Newhampshire, were desirous of being annexed to the government of Vermont : There were others, who wished to support the Newhampshire claim, and aimed to extend her jurisdiction over the whole of Vermont. A convention was proposed, and letters were sent by several influential men in the interest of Newhampshire, inviting the western towns to send representatives, to attend a convention at Charlestown. The convention was held January 16th, 1781 ; and consisted of representatives from forty three towns. To the disappointment of those who had proposed the measure, a large majority of the convention, appeared to be in favour of joining with the government of Vermont. A committee was appointed to confer with her assembly, on that subject : And on February 10th, the committee

mittee informed the assembly, then sitting at Windsor, that "the convention of the Newhampshire towns, was desirous of being united with Vermont, in one separate independent government, upon such principles as should be mutually thought the most equitable and beneficial to the whole." In consequence of this application, the legislature resolved, on February 14th, that "in order to quiet the present disturbances on the two sides of the river (Connecticut) and the better to enable the inhabitants on the two sides of said river to defend their frontier, the legislature of this state, do lay a *jurisdictional claim* to all the lands whatever, east of Connecticut river, north of the Massachusetts, west of the Mason line, and south of latitude 45° ; and that they do not exercise jurisdiction for the time being." The convention of the Newhampshire towns, was then sitting at Cornish, on the opposite side of the river; and on February 22d, the articles of union were agreed upon, and confirmed; and the assembly of Vermont resolved, that they should be held sacred.*

A petition had also been received from a number of the inhabitants in the adjacent parts of Newyork, praying that Vermont would afford them protection against the enemy in Canada, and receive them into union with her, that their forces might be mutually joined for the defence of the frontiers; informing at the same time, that if their petition was rejected, they must remove with their families and effects, into the interior parts of the country for safety. This petition of the inhabitants, the necessity of defending the frontiers, and the measures Newyork were pursuing to subdue Vermont, were assigned as reasons by the legislature, why Vermont ought to receive those inhabitants, into her union: Accordingly on Feb. 14th, it was resolved, "that the legislature

* Journal of the assembly of Vermont, Vol. I. p. 356.

ture of this state, do lay a jurisdictional claim, to all the land situate north of the north line of the state of Massachusetts, and extending the same to Hudson's river; the east of the center of the deepest channel of said river, to the head thereof; from thence east of a north line, being extended to latitude 45° ; and south of the same line, including all the lands and waters to the place where this state now exercise jurisdiction.—And not to exercise jurisdiction for the time being.”*

Thus, while Newhampshire and Newyork were extending their claims over the whole territory of Vermont, Vermont adopted the same policy; and in conformity to the petition of the inhabitants, extended her claim over a large part of the territory of both these states.

Great success attended this policy: Not only the sixteen towns in Newhampshire which had formerly joined, but those in Vermont which had been disaffected upon the dissolution of the former union, and those that had been attached to Newyork, immediately joined in the measure. Most of the towns in the adjacent counties of Cheshire, and Grafton, in Newhampshire, declared for the union: And at a session of the assembly of Vermont in April, thirty five towns in the western parts of Newhampshire, were represented.—The adjacent settlements in Newyork generally embraced the same measures, and several petitions were received from their inhabitants at this session of the assembly, requesting the legislature of Vermont, to exercise jurisdiction over them without any further delay. A committee was appointed by the assembly, to confer with a convention of those districts; and on May 15th, articles of union were agreed to, by the representatives of twelve districts in Newyork, and the committee from Vermont.

* Journal of the assembly of Vermont, Vol. I, Feb. 14, 1781.

Vermont. On the 16th of June, these articles were confirmed by the legislature, and representatives from ten of the districts took their seats in the assembly of Vermont.*

Many circumstances had combined, to produce this union of the people, in favour of Vermont; and one of a singular nature, had served to reconcile those, who had been unfriendly to the cause of America; it was generally believed that negotiations, were at this period, carried on between some of the leading men in Vermont, and the British generals in Canada, and Newyork. This report served to engage the adherents to British government, to espouse the measures of the new state: And such was the increase of numbers, popularity, and power, which Vermont had now acquired, that she had in fact nothing to fear from the power, or from the policy of her opposers: And notwithstanding the resolves of Congress, the assembly proceeded to make grants of their lands, without paying any regard to the grants which had been made by Newyork; those only excepted, which had been made in confirmation of the former grants from Newhampshire.

From these contests respecting Vermont, the British generals and ministers conceived high expectations, that they should be able to derive great advantages. Unacquainted with the feelings, the views, or the spirit of a people, contending for freedom, they calculated upon the system of corruption; and had no doubt but they should find a people in Vermont, that they could seduce from their attachment to the American cause, and unite to the British government. With this view they entered upon measures, to persuade Vermont to become a British province.

The

* Journal of the assembly of Vermont, Vol. I. June 16, 1781.

The wish and aim of the British general in New-York, was first announced in a letter from Col. Bév. Robinson, to Ethan Allen, at that time a Colonel in the American service. The letter was dated New-York, March, 30th, 1780; and delivered to Allen in the street at Arlington, in July, by a British soldier in the habit of an American farmer. In this letter Robinson began the business, thus, "I am now undertaking a task, which I hope you will receive with the same good intention, that inclines me to make it. I have often been informed that you, and most of the inhabitants of Vermont, are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans, in attempting to separate this continent from Great Britain, and to establish an independent state of their own; and that you would willingly assist in uniting America again to Great Britain, and restoring that happy constitution we have so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. If I have been rightly informed, and these should be your sentiments and inclination, I beg you will communicate to me, without reserve, whatever proposals you would wish to make to the commander in chief; and I hereby promise that I will faithfully lay them before him, according to your directions, and flatter myself, I can do it to as good effect as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you, until I know your sentiments, but think upon your taking an active part, and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont in favour of the crown of England, to act as the commander in chief shall direct, that you may obtain a separate government, under the king and constitution of England, and the men, formed into regiments under such officers as you shall recommend, be on the same footing as all the provincial corps are.—If you should think proper to send a friend of your own, here, with proposals to the general, he shall be protected, and well treated here, and allowed to return whenever he pleases."

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es.*—On the receipt of this letter, Allen immediately communicated it to the governor, and a number of the principal gentlemen in Vermont; who agreed in opinion, that it was most prudent not to return any answer, but to let the matter pass into oblivion.

On Feb. 2d, 1781, Robinson wrote another letter to Allen, including a copy of the former, which he supposed had been miscarried, as he had not received any answer. In this he writes, "The frequent accounts we have had for three months past, from your part of the country, confirms me in the opinion I had of your inclination to join the king's cause, and to assist in restoring America, to her former peaceable and happy constitution. This induces me to make another trial, in sending this to you; especially as I can now write with more authority, and assure you, that you may obtain the terms mentioned in the above letter, provided you, and the people of Vermont take a decisive and active part with us."†—He requests an answer, and that some method might be pointed out, for carrying on a correspondence for the future; and information, in what manner the people of Vermont could be the most serviceable to the British government, "either by acting with the northern army, or to meet and join an army from Newyork."

Allen returned no answer to either of these letters, but on March 9th, 1781, inclosed them in a letter to Congress, informing them of all the circumstances which had attended the business. In his letter to that body, he made several observations, justifying the conduct of Vermont, asserting her right to independence, and expressing his determinate resolution, to do every thing in his power to establish it. Con-
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* Copy of Robinson's letter, by E. Allen.

† Copy of Robinson's letter of Feb. 2, 1781, by E. Allen.

scious of his own integrity, and sensible that his activity and sufferings in the cause of his country, were known to all America, he wrote in this style; "I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opinion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them: For Vermont, of all people would be the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the United claiming States, and they, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn, and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded, when Congress consider the circumstances of this state, they will be more surprized that I have transmitted them the inclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress are, that of the United States; and rather than fail, will retire with hardy Green Mountain Boys, into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large."*

An event took place in the spring of the year 1780, which furnished the British with an opportunity, to make a similar attempt from Canada. A number of men had been made prisoners in a descent, which the British made upon Royalton, in the month of May. Their friends applied to governor *Chittenden* to send a flag into Canada, to negotiate their release, or exchange. The governor complied with their request, and in the month of July, a flag was sent with a letter to the commanding officer in Canada. In the fall, the British came up Lake Champlain, in great force: The commanding officer brought a very favourable

* E. Allen's letter to the president of Congress, March 9th, 1781.

favourable answer from general Haldimand, to Governor Chittenden's letter; and sent a flag to Ethan Allen, then a brigadiergeneral, and commanding officer in Vermont, proposing a cessation of hostilities with Vermont, during a negotiation for the exchange of prisoners. Allen agreed to the proposal, upon condition that it should extend to the adjacent frontiers of Newyork. The British officer appeared to be unwilling to treat with any part of America, but Vermont; but finally agreed to every thing, which Allen proposed.

Before the enemy retired into their winter quarters, Colonel Ira Allen, and Major Joseph Fay, were appointed by the governor of Vermont, commissioners to negotiate the proposed exchange of prisoners. They proceeded to treat with the British agents, Captain J. Sherwood and George Smyth, on this subject. The British agents availed themselves of this opportunity, to explain their views, to make their proposals, and to offer as complete an establishment for Vermont, from the royal authority, as should be desired. The commissioners from Vermont treated the proposals with affability, and good humour; and though they avoided bringing any thing to a decision, the British concluded, they were in a fair way to effect their purposes; and the campaign ended, without any further hostilities to Vermont.

The next year, the British entered upon the business, with high expectations of success; and it was the interest of Vermont, not to undeceive them. Newyork had withdrawn their troops, from the post at Skeensborough; all the continental troops, had been ordered out of the territory; and the adjacent states, did not afford them any assistance. The people of Vermont were exposed to the whole force of the enemy in Canada, and had neither magazines, money, or an army, to oppose to the enemy at the

northward, who were seven thousand strong. No way of safety remained for Vermont, but to endeavour to effect that by policy, which could not be done by power. The cabinet council concluded, that they were designedly forsaken by the continent, to force them into a submission to Newyork ; and that it was clearly their duty, to provide for the safety of the people, in the only way that remained, by managing the British attempts to corrupt them, to their own advantage.*

On May 1st, Colonel Ira Allen was sent to Canada, with a commission to negotiate the exchange of prisoners. The British agents concluded, that the day of their complete success, was at hand : They complied with every thing which Allen required ; and urged incessantly to have Vermont declare itself a British province ; with assurances, that every thing she could ask for should be granted by the British generals, and confirmed by the king, in the most ample manner. Colonel Allen was fully equal to the business, which had been entrusted to him ; and both he, and his employers, were among the firmest friends to the independence of Vermont, and of America. With a singular talent at negotiation, he suffered the British agents to deceive themselves with an idea of their own success, and completely effected his own views, in leading the enemy into an agreement, that no hostilities should be commenced against the state of Vermont.—In July, Major Joseph Fay was sent to the enemy on Lake Champlain, and completed an exchange of prisoners : And in September, Allen and Fay, had another conference with the British agents ; which like the former, left the British in high expectations of making Vermont a British province ; and procured to Vermont

* Governor Chittenden's letter to General Washington, of November 14th, 1781.

Vermont the solid advantages, that the enemy avoided all hostilities against her, and returned all her inhabitants, which had been taken prisoners.

On October 19th, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered with his army to General Washington. When the news of this important event arrived, the general assembly of Vermont were sitting at Charlestown. The enemy had come up the lake with a large force, and were then at Tyconderoga. They had concluded, that their business was so far effected with Vermont, that they might make an open proclamation of their designs and offers. Their agents had accordingly brought with them, a number of printed proclamations, announcing the royal offers to the people of Vermont, and inviting them to unite, and become very happy, as a royal province, under the king's government. The British agents sent on their letters to Charlestown, announcing the measures they were pursuing, and proposing to publish and disperse their proclamations, immediately among the people. They were told in answer, that the news of Cornwallis's surrender, would render such a step extremely dangerous, and was the sure way to prevent all prospect of success; and that they must wait, until time should determine, what was practicable and prudent.—Mortified by the disaster of Cornwallis, but comforted with groundless expectations and hopes, they returned in a peaceable manner down the lake, and went into winter quarters, without having done any injury to Vermont, through the whole campaign.

In the winter of 1782, the enemy in Canada, were extremely impatient to know, what effect the surrender of Cornwallis had produced on the minds of the people of Vermont. In February and in April, the British agents wrote in the most pressing terms, for information. Their anxiety and views will best appear, from the style of their letters: The following

following extract, is from a letter from one of the British agents, dated 28th February 1782, "My anxiety to hear from you, induced me to apply to his excellency [General Haldimand] for leave to send the bearer, with this; which having obtained, I earnestly request you to send me in the most candid, unreserved manner, the present wishes and intentions, of the people, and leading men of your state, respecting our former negociations; and what effect the late catastrophe of Lord Cornwallis, has on them.—Will it not be well to consider, the many chances and vicissitudes of war? However brilliant the last campaign may appear, the next may wear a very different aspect: Add to this, the great probability of your being ruined, by your haughty neighbours, elated by (what they call) a signal victory; and I hope you will see as I do, that it is more than ever your interest, to unite yourselves with those, who wish to make you a happy and free government. Will there be a proper time to send the proclamations? I repeat my request, that you will tell me, without reserve, what may be expected in future."

On the 22d of April, the British agents write in this style, "In confidence, we take this opportunity to acquaint you, by the authority of his Excellency General Haldimand, that he is still inclined to treat amicably with the people of Vermont; and these his generous and humane inclinations, are *now* seconded by much stronger powers from his Majesty; than he has hitherto enjoyed for that purpose.—We do in confidence, officially assure you, that every article proposed to you in his excellency's former offer, as well as the confirmation of the east and west unions, in their utmost limits, will be amply and punctually complied with.—We hope, your answer may be such, as to unburden our anxious minds." Extremely fearful about the event, and impatient at
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not receiving an answer, on April 30th, they wrote again, and carried their offers and promises to a still greater extent : " His excellency has never lost sight of his first object ; and I am happy to be able in this, to inform you, that the general, has lately received by way of Halifax, full powers from the king to establish a V———t government, including the full extent of the east and west unions, with every privilege and immunity, formerly proffered to you ; and he is likewise fully authorized, as well as sincerely inclined, to provide amply for * * * * *, and to make * * * * * brigadiergeneral in the line, * * * * * field officers, with such other rewards, as your sincerity, and good services in bringing about the revolution, may in future merit. In short, the general is vested with full powers, to make such rewards, as he shall judge proper, to all those, who distinguish themselves, in promoting the happy union : And as his excellency has the greatest confidence in you, and * * * * *, much will depend on your recommendations."

In July, Colonel Ira Allen was sent again into Canada, with a letter from the governor of Vermont, to General Haldimand, requesting the release of two officers, belonging to Vermont, who were then prisoners in Canada. The British agents were uncommonly desirous, of bringing their negotiations with Vermont, to an immediate decision. All the arts of negotiation were employed, on the one hand, to persuade Vermont, to declare herself a British province ; and, on the other, to avoid this step, without bringing on a renewal of hostilities. A secret treaty was offered, and much urged : And in the event, Haldimand agreed to continue the suspension of hostilities ; and wrote a very friendly letter to Governor Chittenden, fully complying with his request of liberating the prisoners, and announcing his pacific disposition towards Vermont, in this unequivocal

cal manner: "You may rest assured that I shall give such orders, as will effectually prevent hostilities of any kind, being exercised in the district of Vermont, until such time as a breach on your part, or some general event, may make the contrary my duty." And you have my authority, to promulgate, in such manner, as you shall think fit, this my intention to the people of the said district, that they may, without any apprehension, continue to encourage and promote the settlement and cultivation of that new country, to the interest and happiness of themselves, and their posterity."*

With this year, the war, and the negotiations, came to an end; leaving favourable impressions on the government of Canada, towards Vermont. The last letter the British agents wrote upon the business, was on March 25th, 1783; before the news of the peace, was officially known, or fully believed in Canada. Their views and sentiments, at that period, were thus expressed, "I am commanded to acquaint you, that actuated from the beginning, by a sincere desire of serving you, and your people, as well as of promoting the royal cause, by reuniting you with the mother country, his excellency never lost an opportunity of representing every circumstance that could be advanced in your favour, to the king's ministers, in the hope of accomplishing a reconciliation.—His excellency will continue by such representations, to do all in his power, to serve you, but what effect it may have, at this late period, is very uncertain. While his excellency sincerely regrets the happy moment, which it is much to be feared, cannot be recalled, of restoring to you the blessings of the British government, and views with concern the fatal consequences approaching, which

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* Haldimand's letter to Governor Chittenden, dated Quebec, 8th August, 1782.

he has so long, and so frequently predicted, from your procrastination, he derives some satisfaction from a consciousness of not having omitted a circumstance, which could tend to your persuasion, and adoption of his desired purpose. In the present uncertain state of affairs, uninformed as his excellency is, of what is doing, or perhaps done, in a general accommodation, he does not think fit, until the result shall be known, to give any opinion, which may influence you, perhaps to the prejudice of your interests, or that might interfere with the views of government. If the report now prevailing, has any foundation, a very short time will determine the fate of Vermont.—Should any thing favourable present, you may still depend on his excellency's utmost endeavours, for your salvation."

Thus terminated a controversy, which occasioned many and various conjectures, at the time when it was carried on. On the part of the British, it consisted of constant attempts and endeavours, to persuade the leading men of Vermont, to renounce their allegiance to the states of America, and become a British province. On the part of the gentlemen of Vermont, the correspondence consisted of evasive, ambiguous, general answers and proposals; calculated, not to destroy the British hopes of seduction, but carefully avoiding any engagements or measures, that could be construed to be an act of the government: And it had for its object, a cessation of hostilities, at a time when the state of Vermont, deserted by the continent, and unable to defend herself, lay at the mercy of the enemy in Canada.

Eight persons only in Vermont, were in the secret of this correspondence. Each of them, were known to be among the most confirmed friends, to the American cause. They had avowed their sentiments, and embraced the cause of their country, from the beginning of the American war: They had suffered severely,

severely, often borne arms, and done every thing in their power, to defend the independence of the states : And through the whole of this correspondence, they gave the most decisive proofs, that they could not be bought, or bridled, by any offers of wealth or honour.—But so odious were the British proceedings and government, at that time, to the people of America, that it was with difficulty, the people of Vermont could be kept quiet, under the idea of a correspondence carried on with the British, though known to be designed for their protection. Once or twice, there were small insurrections, to demand explanations : And nothing but the well known, and strong attachment of the gentlemen concerned, to the independence of Vermont and of America, could have preserved them from open violence, and destruction.

It may be doubted, how far such a measure was justifiable, in that, or in any other state of things. On the one hand, it may be said, when the safety of all America was in question, and in much danger, nothing ought to have been done to encourage the enemy, that they should be able to divide, and thus subdue the continent. On the other hand, it may be urged, that when thirty thousand people were deserted by the Congress, and become the objects of the intrigues and policy of the adjacent states, it was as justifiable and necessary for them, to provide for their safety, as it was for the rest of the continent.— If there was no other alternative for the people of Vermont, than to be divided, subdued, and delivered over to the power of their ancient enemies ; their leaders will not be blamed, for taking necessary and adequate measures, to prevent such an evil. In such a situation, it was scarcely possible for the people of Vermont to believe, that they could be under any moral obligation, to sacrifice themselves, to procure independence for those, who by the act of their representatives,

representatives, had rejected them from their confederation.

But whatever may be thought respecting the propriety of such policy, the event shewed, that the gentlemen of Vermont had formed a sound judgment, with regard to the effect. Flattered with the prospect, that they should draw off a considerable part of the continent, to their government and measures, the British carefully avoided all hostilities against Vermont, restored her prisoners, forbade their troops to enter or attack her territory, and considered the people rather in the light of friends, than enemies. Thus while the British generals were fondly imagining that they were deceiving, corrupting, and seducing the people of Vermont, by their superiour arts, address, and intrigues; the wiser policy of eight honest farmers, in the most uncultivated part of America, disarmed their northern troops, kept them quiet and inoffensive during three campaigns, assisted in subduing Cornwallis, protected the northern frontiers, and finally saved a state.

Not only the British generals, but so much was the British government deceived by these appearances, that the ministers flattered themselves, that they had nearly effected the defection of Vermont from the American cause, and drawn them over to the British interest. Lord George Germain was at that time minister of state, for the American department. A letter which he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British troops in Newyork, was intercepted and carried into Philadelphia. The letter was dated Whitehall, February 7, 1781, in which he wrote thus, "The return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, is an event of the utmost importance to the king's affairs; and at this time if the French and Washington really meditate an irruption into Canada, may be considered as opposing an unsurmountable bar to the attempt. General Hal-

dimand, who has the same instructions with you to draw over those people, and give them support, will, I doubt not, push up a body of troops, to act in conjunction with them, to secure all the avenues, through their country into Canada; and when the season admits, take possession of the upper parts of the Hudson's and Connecticut rivers, and cut off the communication between Albany and the Mohawks country. How far they may be able to extend themselves southward, or eastward, must depend on their numbers, and the disposition of the inhabitants."

This letter was published in the Pennsylvania Packet, of Aug. 4th, 1781. Nothing could have been better suited to promote the interests of Vermont, than the style, and publication of this letter. The people of the United States, had now complete evidence that the British generals in Newyork and Canada, had orders to receive and support the people of Vermont, and that the British ministry were persuaded of their disposition to join the British government. They saw at once, the effect this must have upon the American war; and they knew at the same time, that nothing was wanting to prevent it, but to admit Vermont into the union of the states. The public opinion was now decidedly in favour of this measure: And it was found, that the leaders of Vermont, were fully equal to the business they had undertaken; and while they had acted with great spirit and firmness, in every part of the American war, they had discovered the same activity and intrepidity, in every part of the contest respecting the independence of their own state. No policy, it was every where urged, could be more dangerous, than to hazard the success of the American cause, upon a dispute with a people, whose exertions had fully shown that they deserved all the blessings of freedom, to as great an extent as any of their neighbours; and

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whose ability and enterprise would not fail to secure it, in one form or another. What gave weight to the public opinion, was the general belief that the commander of the American forces, was fully of the same opinion.

The Congress of the United States immediately took up the matter, and formed their resolves in a style very different from what they had done, the year before. Their resolves were officially transmitted to the legislature of Vermont, and were in the following words: "By the *United States* in Congress assembled, August 7, 1781. Whereas the states of Newhampshire and Newyork have submitted to Congress, the decision of the disputes between them, and the people inhabiting the Newhampshire grants, on the west side of Connecticut river, called the state of Vermont, concerning their respective claims of jurisdiction over the said territory, and have been heard thereon; and whereas the people aforesaid claim and exercise the powers of a sovereign independent state, and have requested to be admitted into the federal union of the United States in America; in order thereto, and that they may have an opportunity to be heard in vindication of their said claim; Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to confer with such person or persons, as may be appointed by the people residing on the Newhampshire grants, on the west side of Connecticut river, or by their representative body, respecting their claim to be an independent state; and on what terms it may be proper to admit them into the federal union of these states, in case the United States in Congress assembled shall determine to recognize their independence, and thereon to make report.—And it is hereby further recommended to the people of the territory aforesaid, or their representative body, to appoint an agent, or agents to repair immediately to Philadelphia with full powers and instructions to confer

confer with the said committee, on the matters aforesaid, and on behalf of the said people to agree upon, and ratify terms and articles of union and confederation with the United States of America, in case they shall be admitted into the union. And the said committee are hereby instructed to give notice to the agents of the states of Newhampshire and Newyork, to be present at the conference aforesaid.

"August 20, 1781.—Resolved, That it be an indispensable preliminary, to the recognition of the independence of the people, inhabiting the territory called Vermont, and their admission into the federal union, that they explicitly relinquish all demands of lands, or jurisdiction, on the east side of the west bank of Connecticut river, and on the west side of a line beginning at the northwest corner of the state of Massachusetts, thence running twenty miles east of Hudson's river, so far as said river runs northeasterly in its general course, then by the west bounds of the townships granted by the late government of Newhampshire, to the river running from South bay to Lake Champlain, thence along the said river to Lake Champlain, thence along the waters of Lake Champlain to the latitude forty five degrees north, excepting a neck of land, between Missiskoy bay, and the waters of Lake Champlain."*

With these resolves of Congress, a verbal message was sent by General Washington to Governor Chittenden, desiring to know what were the real designs, views, and intentions of the people of Vermont: Whether they would be satisfied with the independence, proposed by Congress; or had it seriously in contemplation, to join with the enemy, and become a British province. The governor returned an unequivocal, and decisive answer. That there were no people on the continent, more attached to the cause

* Journal of Congress, Aug. 7th, and 20th, 1781, p. 166, 179.

of America, than the people of Vermont; but that they were fully determined, not to be put under the government of Newyork, that they would oppose this by force of arms, and would join with the British in Canada, rather than to submit to that government.*

In October, the general assembly of Vermont, met at Charlestown in Newhampshire. The resolutions of Congress were laid before them; but although the resolves held out all that Vermont had at first claimed, or had ever expected to obtain, they did not produce a full confidence in Congress; nor did they fall in with the views of those towns, which had joined Vermont, from Newhampshire, and Newyork. When they had been debated, the assembly voted, October the 19th, that they could not comply with the resolutions of Congress, of August the 20th, without destroying the foundation of the universal harmony and agreement, that subsisted in the state, and a violation of solemn compact entered into by articles of union and confederation; that they would remain firm in the principles, on which the state had first assumed government, and hold the articles of union, which connected each part of the state with the other, inviolate; that they would not submit the question of their independence, to the arbitrament of any power; but that they were willing and ready to refer the question of their jurisdictional boundary with Newhampshire, and Newyork, to commissioners mutually chosen; and when they should be admitted into the American union, they would submit any such disputes to Congress.†

The resolves of Congress, though they had not been accepted by Vermont, were considered by Newyork,

* Governor Chittenden's letter to General Washington, of Nov. 14, 1781.

† Journal of Congress, April 4, 1782, p. 326—329.

yoik, as a virtual determination of her claims. The legislature of that state, on the 15th and 19th, of November, passed a number of resolutions, and a solemn protest, against the proceedings of Congress. Having stated their claims, and related some of the former proceedings of Congress relative to the controversy, they resolved, that the legislature of that state, was greatly alarmed at the evident intention of Congress, from *political expedience*, to establish an *arbitrary* boundary, which excluded from that state, a great part of its territory; that it was the sense of the legislature, that Congress had not any authority, by the articles of confederation, to intermeddle with the former territorial extent of jurisdiction or property, of either of the United States, except in cases of dispute between two or more of the states in the union, nor to admit into the union, even any British colony except Canada, without the consent of nine states, nor any other state whatsoever, nor above all to create a new state by dismembering one of the thirteen United States, without their universal consent; that in case of any attempt of Congress to carry into execution their acts of the 7th and 20th of August, the legislature were bound in duty to their constituents, to declare the same an assumption of power, and a manifest infraction of the articles of confederation, and do therefore solemnly *protest* against the same; that a copy of their resolutions be transmitted to Congress, and their delegates expressly directed and required to enter their dissent on every step, which may be taken in and towards carrying the said acts of Congress into execution.*

Anxious for the safety of Vermont, and wishing to avail himself of every measure to promote it, on Nov. 14th, Governor Chittenden wrote to General Washington, on the subject, explaining to him their situation,

* Journal of Congress, April 4, 1782, p. 329—334.

situation, difficulties, and views. In this letter, the governor placed great confidence in the general, and gave him an account of the transactions with the enemy; and assigned the reason, "Vermont drove to desperation, by the injustice of those who should have been her friends, was obliged to adopt policy in the room of power;" and with regard to the last resolution of Congress, he ascribed them to their true cause, not the influence of their friends, but the power of their enemies; "Lord George Germain's letter wrought on Congress, and procured that from them, which the public virtue of this people could not obtain."

While these transactions were taking place, new scenes of difficulty, and of danger, were opening in the eastern and western unions. The sheriff of one of the counties of Newhampshire, which had joined with Vermont, wrote to Governor Chittenden, that there was a high probability, that the government of Newhampshire were about taking coercive measures, to compel the citizens who had joined with Vermont, to submit to the laws and authority of Newhampshire. The governor, on December 14th, wrote to General Paine, at that time lieutenant-governor of the state, to call on the militia east of the green mountains, and assist the sheriff in the execution of the laws, and to defend the citizens against any insult; and if Newhampshire should make an attack with an armed force, to repel force by force. Mr. Paine sent a copy of the orders which he had received, to the president of Newhampshire, and wrote that if Newhampshire began hostilities, he should execute the orders he had received, and did not doubt but that the people would support him, with their most spirited exertions, and that Newhampshire must be accountable for the consequences.*

With

* Mr. Paine's letter to President Weare, Dec. 21, 1781.

With this letter, commissioners were sent to the general assembly of Newhampshire, to endeavour to accomodate matters, and prevent the effusion of blood*.

At the same time the troops of Newyork were in motion to suppress the proceedings of their citizens, who had formed an union with Vermont. On December 18th, their commander, Brigadiergeneral Gansevoort, wrote to the commanding officer of the troops from Vermont, that in pursuance of a law of Newyork, he had been detached with a part of his brigade to suppress an insurrection of some of the inhabitants of Schaticook, and Hoosac ; that he was arrived to aid the sheriff of the county, to apprehend the insurgents ; and was informed that a large body of troops from the grants, were marching in force, with artillery ; but before he proceeded any further, he wished to be informed what was the object of their movement into the interiour parts of that state, and by what authority.†—Colonel Walbridge commandant of the troops from Vermont, wrote in answer, that the object of their movement, was to protect those of the inhabitants, who in consequence of the union, professed allegiance to the state of Vermont ; that he wished conciliatory methods might be adopted, but if those persons who professed to be citizens of Vermont, should be imprisoned, and their property destroyed, he was not to be answerable for the consequences.‡

All parties seem to have been seriously alarmed, at these prospects of a civil war : And happily for themselves, they had all of them, more moderation and wisdom, than to proceed to hostilities. Reflecting on the war with Greatbritain, in which their
country

* General Roger Enos, Ira Allen, and William Page.

† P. Gansevoort's letter, of December 18, 1781.

‡ E. Walbridge's letter, of December 19, 1781.

country was so deeply engaged, they seem to have been fully convinced that no differences among the states, ought to be suffered to produce a war among themselves.

A controversy so full of mischief and danger to the United States, gave much concern to the commander in chief of the American army. Aware of the extremes to which all parties were tending, on January 1st, 1782, he returned an answer to Governor Chittenden's letter, in which were these expressions; "It is not my business, neither do I think it necessary now, to discuss the origin of the right of a number of inhabitants to that tract of country, formerly distinguished by the name of the Newhampshire grants, and now known by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted that their right was good, because Congress, by their resolve of the 7th of August, imply it; and by that of the 21st, are willing fully to confirm it, provided the new state is confined to certain described bounds. It appears therefore, to me, that the dispute of boundary is the only one that exists, and that being removed all other difficulties would be removed also, and the matter terminated to the satisfaction of all parties.—You have nothing to do but withdraw your jurisdiction to the confines of your old limits, and obtain an acknowledgement of independence and sovereignty, under the resolve of the 21st of August, for so much territory as does not interfere with the ancient established bounds of Newyork, Newhampshire, and Massachusetts.—In my private opinion, while it behoves the delegates to do ample justice to a body of people sufficiently respectable by their numbers, and entitled by other claims to be admitted into that confederation, it becomes them also to attend to the interests of their constituents, and see, that under the appearance of justice to one, they do not materially

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rially injure the rights of others. I am apt to think this is the prevailing opinion of Congress."

It is only among a free people, that wisdom and virtue can have their full effects. The fortitude, the wisdom, the disinterestedness, with which *Washington* had conducted the affairs of the war, through one continued scene of hardship and danger, had given him an influence over the minds of the people, which no man in America, ever had before. It was not merely because he had proved the successful defender of his country, and the greatest general that had ever appeared in America, but it was the steadiness of his integrity and virtue, which gave him such an influence over the minds of men: And while the politicians were every where striving for popularity and power, the most honourable and important of all distinctions, was reserved for him; a preeminence in the dominion of reason, wisdom, and virtue.

The assembly of Vermont met in February, at Bennington. The letter from the general was laid before them, and it produced those effects which the general seems to have intended: It corrected the errors of the government of Vermont, and produced a confidence in the resolves of Congress, thus recommended by the opinion and advice of Washington. After a full debate upon the matter, the assembly resolved to comply with the preliminary, required of them. Their proceedings were in this form:

Vermont, in General Assembly, Feb. 22, 1782.

"The recommendation of the grand committee, consisting of his excellency the governor, the honourable the council, and the representatives of the people, on taking into consideration the resolutions of Congress respecting this state, in the month of August last, being read, is as follows: That in the sense of this committee, Congress by their resolutions of August last, in guaranteeing to the states of New-

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York and Newhampshire respectively, all the territory without certain limits therein expressed, has eventually determined the boundaries of this state. And whereas it appears to this committee, consistent with the spirit, true intent, and meaning of the articles of union entered into by this state, with the inhabitants of a certain district of country, on the east side of the west banks of Connecticut river, and on the west side of a line twenty miles east of Hudson's river, which articles of union were executed on the 25th day of February, and the 15th day of June last, that Congress should consider and determine the boundary lines of the state : It is recommended to the legislature of this state, to pass resolutions, declaring their acquiescence in, and accession to the determination made by Congress of the boundary lines between the states of Newhampshire and Newyork respectively, and this state, as they are in said resolutions defined and described. And also, expressly relinquishing all claims to, and jurisdiction over, the said districts of territory without said boundary lines, and the inhabitants thereon residing.

Confiding in the faith and wisdom of Congress, that they will immediately enter on measures, to carry into effect the other matters in the said resolution contained, and settle the same on equitable terms, whereby this state may be received into and have and enjoy all the protection, rights, and advantages, of a federal union with the United States of America, as a free, independent, and sovereign state, as is held forth to us, in and by the said resolutions :

" And that the legislature cause official information of their resolutions, to be immediately transmitted to the Congress of the United States, and to the states of Newhampshire and Newyork respectively.

" Whereupon resolved,

" That the foregoing recommendation be complied with, and that the west banks of Connecticut river,

er, and a line beginning at the northwest corner of the state of Massachusetts, from thence northward twenty miles east of Hudson's river, as specified in the resolutions of Congress in August last, be considered as the east and west boundaries of this state. That this assembly do hereby relinquish all claims and demands to, and right of jurisdiction in and over any and every district of territory, without said boundary lines. That authentic copies of this resolution be forthwith officially transmitted to Congress, and to the states of Newhampshire, and Newyork respectively."

Thus was dissolved an union which had been constantly acquiring numbers, extent, popularity, and power, from its first formation : Which, it was generally believed had prevented the division of Vermont, by Newhampshire and Newyork ; and which if it had been continued, would probably have extended much further into those states. It was not without a struggle, that the measure could be effected ; and it was not without resentment, that the members from the towns in Newhampshire and Newyork, found themselves excluded from a seat, or a vote in the assembly, with which they had been connected by articles of union and confederation, which they supposed would have been perpetual.

Having thus fully complied with the resolves of Congress, the assembly concluded that all difficulties relating to their admission into the confederation of the states, were removed. They proceeded* to choose four agents and delegates, to represent the state of Vermont in Congress ; and requested the governor to commission them with plenary powers, to negotiate the admission of Vermont, into the confederation of the United States ; and when the state was admitted, two of the agents were empowered to
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* February 28,

take their seats, and represent Vermont in Congress. The agents were accordingly commissioned, "to negotiate and complete on the part of Vermont, the admission thereof into the federal union with the United States of Northamerica. And in behalf of the state, to subscribe articles of perpetual union and confederation therewith."

While the assembly of Vermont was thus employed in effecting a compliance with the resolves of Congress, warm debates had taken place in that assembly, respecting the measures that ought to be pursued with Vermont. The refusal of the legislature in October, to comply with the resolve Congress had passed on August 20th, was viewed in a very unfavourable light. On March 1st, it was proposed in Congress to pass a resolve, that if within one month from the time in which the resolve should be communicated to Thomas Chittenden, the inhabitants of Vermont should comply with the resolves of August 7th and 20th, 1781, they should be immediately admitted into the union, but if they should refuse this, and did not desist from attempting to exercise jurisdiction over the lands guaranteed to Newhampshire, and Newyork, Congress would consider such neglect or refusal, as a manifest indication of designs hostile to the United States, and that all the pretensions and applications of the said inhabitants, heretofore made for admission into the federal union, were fallacious and delusive; and that thereupon the forces of the United States, should be employed against the inhabitants, and Congress would consider all the lands within the territory to the eastward of the ridge of mountains, as guaranteed to Newhampshire; and all the lands to the westward of said line, as guaranteed to Newyork; and that the commander in chief of the armies of the United States, do without delay or further order carry these resolutions into full execution.—But af-

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ter warm debates, and repeated trials, a vote could not be obtained to adopt these resolutions, and the matter subsided.*

The resentment Congress discovered, at Vermont's refusing to agree with her resolves, was but of a short duration. In a few days the agents arrived at Philadelphia, and on March 31st, officially laid before that body, the compliance of the legislature of Vermont, with their resolutions of the 7th and 20th of August.

The matter was referred by Congress, to a committee of five of their members. On the 17th of April, the committee made the following report, "In the sense of your committee, the people of the said district by the last recited act, have fully complied with the stipulation made and required of them, in the resolutions of the 20th and 21st of August, as preliminary to a recognition of their sovereignty, and independence, and admission into the federal union of the states. And that the *conditional* promise, and engagement of Congress of such recognition, and admission, is thereby become *absolute* and *necessary* to be performed. Your committee therefore submit the following resolution :

"That the district or territory called Vermont, as defined and limited in the resolutions of Congress of the 20th and 21st of August, 1781, be, and it is hereby recognized, and acknowledged by the name of the state of Vermont, as free, sovereign, and independent; and that a committee be appointed to treat and confer with the agents and delegates from said state, upon the terms and mode of the admission of the said state into the federal union."—When this report was read in Congress, a motion was made and seconded, that the first Tuesday in October next be assigned for the consideration of the report: The

vote

* Journal of Congress, March 1, 1782, p. 298—305.

vote passed in the negative. A motion was then made and seconded, that the third Tuesday in June next, be assigned for the consideration of the report: The vote was again in the negative. A motion was then made and seconded, that Monday next be assigned for the consideration of the report; and the vote was also found in the negative, for the third time.*

From these votes it was apparent, that Congress had again adopted their former policy of evasion, and did not mean to come to any decision upon the affairs of Vermont. Having no prospect of success in their agency, the agents concluded their business,† with a letter to the president of Congress, representing that Vermont, in consequence of the faith which Congress had pledged to them, had been prevailed upon to comply with their resolutions, in the most ample manner; that they were disappointed by the unexpected delay of Congress, in not executing on their part, the intent and spirit of the resolve; that Vermont was now reduced to a critical situation, by casting off a considerable part of her strength, in being exposed as a forlorn hope, to the main force of the enemy in Canada, and destitute of the aid of the United States; which made them urgent that unnecessary delay might not deprive them, of the benefit of the confederation; and that they should expect to be officially acquainted, when their attendance would be necessary.‡

The proceedings of Congress, ought to be treated with all the respect, which is due to government, and with all the candour that is due to the imperfection of man. But when every reasonable allowance

* Extract from the minutes of Congress, of April 17, 1782,

† April 19.

‡ Copy of the letter from the Hon. Jonas Fay, Moses Robinson, and Isaac Tichenor.

ance is made, their conduct in this affair, cannot be considered in any other, than an unfavourable light. There could be no necessity of evasive policy, at a period, when the public sentiment called for the decision of a question, which had already occasioned so much trouble and danger. The resolves Congress had passed on August 7th, and 20th, 1781, could not be understood in any other sense, than as a *conditional* engagement or promise on the part of Congress. The condition had been fully complied with. In that stage of the business, to resolve their own engagements into nothing, had not the appearance of wisdom and sound policy, but of art, cunning, and littleness. Their own faith and honour, and what ought to have been infinitely dear to them, the honour of their general, required the most unequivocal and punctual performance of what they had virtually engaged, and led the people of Vermont to confide in.—Nor would the agents of Vermont have been wrong, if they had expressed in terms more strong and decisive, their indignation at the public trifling of a body, whose public measures ought to have been marked, in every instance, with the strictest faith, the greatest integrity, and the most delicate sense of honour.

When the last resolutions of Congress became known in Vermont, the general opinion was, that the assembly had been duped by the finess of Congress, to bring themselves into a state more weak, and dangerous than they had been before: And that there would be no safety, in being guided by resolutions, which might be formed, and changed, amidst the intrigues and cabals of parties. Both the people and the assembly of Vermont, seem to have been determined by the measures of Congress, to maintain their own independence, to adhere to the boundaries to which they had agreed, and to defend themselves by force against any body of men who should endeavour

deavour to dissolve, or to disturb their government ; and not to make any further solicitations to Congress, to receive them into the confederation. But that no blame might be laid upon them, or any deficiency be found in their proceedings, the general assembly at their annual session in October, again appointed agents with full powers and instructions, to negotiate and complete the admission of Vermont into the union of the states,

C H A P. XI.

Disturbances in Vermont. Resolutions of Congress. Remonstrances against the Proceedings of Congress. Peace with Great Britain. Disinclination of Vermont to an Union with the Confederate States. New Federal Constitution. Proposals of New York. Settlement of the Controversy with that State. Admission of Vermont into the Federal Union. Political Effects of these Controversies.

IN the internal government of the state, Vermont had met with good success. The people were not fully united in the measure, when the powers of government were first assumed. Some were upon principle, attached to the government of New York. Those who were of a timid constitution, were fearful of the consequences. Those who wished to be free from the restraints of law and government, were clamorous about tyranny and oppression. Several of these sought protection from New York, avowed their allegiance to that state, and received commissions for civil and military offices, under that government; and were extremely active to oppose, and disturb the government of Vermont. Notwithstanding these attempts, the government of Vermont had been constantly gaining strength, not only among the people who were already settled in the territory, but by the accession of large numbers of people

people from other states, but chiefly from Connecticut. The new settlers were almost universally, in favour of the proceedings of the government; and were adding much every year, to its strength, numbers, and unanimity. With these prospects the legislature judged that a general act of amnesty, in favour of those who had been in opposition to government, might be of use to reconcile and quiet those, who were now fully convinced, that nothing could be carried against the government, by force and opposition. Accordingly in February, 1781, the legislature passed a general act of amnesty, in favour of such persons within the state, as had previously made opposition to its authority. Upon this judicious extension of lenity, all opposition to the internal government of Vermont, had ceased for more than a year; and all parties within the state, seemed to acquiesce in the support of government.

Congress had withdrawn all the continental troops, and left the inhabitants to take care of themselves. In their exposed situation, it became necessary to raise a body of troops, for the defence of the frontiers. The legislature ordered them to be raised from the several towns, in the state, in proportion to the number of their inhabitants. There were some persons in the southeasterly parts of the state, who opposed the raising and payment of these men. The governor of Newyork by letters to them, and otherwise, interfered in the business. To some of these disaffected persons he gave civil and military commissions, and encouraged them with the prospect, or promise of support and protection.* Made insolent by this prospect of support and distinction from the government of Newyork, some of these disaffected persons, had the effrontery to attempt to exercise the laws of Newyork, over the citizens of Vermont,

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* Remonstrance of the Council of Vermont, p. 18.

in avowed contempt and defiance of her authority. Insolence so audacious, admitted of no other treatment, than the punishment, which civil laws assign to such crimes. Lenient measures proved in vain, and the government of Vermont ordered a military force to be sent to assist the sheriff of the county of Windham, and to protect the courts of justice against an armed violence and opposition. Five of the most obnoxious of the criminals were banished, and sundry others were amerced in pecuniary fines, according to the customary and due forms of law. The offenders had been guilty of that avowed and armed opposition to law and government, which in every country is denominated treason and rebellion. But great care was taken to avoid the effusion of blood, and to have the punishment of the offenders extended no further than was necessary, to preserve the independence and safety of the state.

Disappointed in their views and expectations of producing an insurrection in Vermont, checked and restrained by the proceedings of her courts, nothing remained for them but to seek support and reward from the government, under whose authority they pretended to have acted. But it was not in the power of New York, to afford them such relief as they wished: Neither her power, or policy, her promises, or her threatenings, would have had the least effect upon the people, or the government of Vermont. Nothing remained but an appeal to Congress. Complaint was made to that body, that their resolutions of Sept. 24, 1779, and of June 2, 1780, were publicly violated; and that Vermont had proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over the persons and properties of sundry persons, who professed themselves to be subject to the state of New York. Congress took up the complaint, and referred it to a committee. On November the 14th, the committee reported, "that the measures complained of, were probably occasioned
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by the state of Newyork having lately issued commissions, both civil and military, to persons resident in the district called Vermont :” And that it be recommended to Newyork, to revoke all the commissions which they had issued since the month of May ; that it be recommended to the inhabitants to make full satisfaction to the persons, who had suffered damages ; and that it be recommended to Newyork, and to the people exercising government in Vermont, to adhere to the resolutions of Congress, of Sept. 24th, until a decision should be had upon their affairs. But after several attempts, a vote could not be obtained in favour of these resolves, and the matter was adjourned.*

On December the 5th, the business was taken up again ; and Congress, instead of proceeding to fulfil her own engagements to Vermont, was led by an ill judged policy, to embrace the cause of the criminals, and to pass resolutions full of censure and threatening, against the proceedings of the state. Their resolves were in this style :

“ By the *United States* in Congress assembled, Dec. 5, 1782. Whereas it appears to Congress by authentic documents, that the people inhabiting the district of country, on the west side of Connecticut river, commonly called the Newhampshire grants, and claiming to be an independent state, in contempt of the authority of Congress, and in direct violation of their resolutions of the 24th of September, 1779, and of the 2d of June, 1780, did, in the month of September last, proceed to exercise jurisdiction over the persons and properties of sundry inhabitants of the said district, professing themselves to be the subjects of, and to owe allegiance to the state of Newyork ; by means whereof divers of them have been condemned to banishment, not to return on pain of death

* Journal of Congress, Nov. 14, 1782.

death and confiscation of estate, and others have been fined in large sums, and otherwise deprived of property. Therefore, Resolved, That the said acts and proceedings of the said people, being highly derogatory to the authority of the United States, and dangerous to the confederacy, require the immediate and decided interposition of Congress; for the protection and relief of such as have suffered by them, and for preserving peace in the said district, until a decision shall be had of the controversy relative to the jurisdiction of the same.

"That the people inhabiting the said district claiming to be independent, be, and they are hereby required without delay to make full and ample restitution to Timothy Church, Timothy Phelps, Henry Evans, William Shattuck, and such others, as have been condemned to banishment and confiscation of estates, or have otherwise been deprived of property, since the first day of September last, for the damages they have sustained by the acts and proceedings aforesaid, and that they be not molested in their persons or properties, on their return to their habitations in the said district."

"That the United States will take effectual measures to enforce a compliance with the aforesaid resolutions, in case the same shall be disobeyed by the people of the said district."

The people of Vermont were already prejudiced against the proceedings of Congress; these resolutions could not fail to impair, all that remained, of reverence and respect. The governor and council sent a spirited remonstrance to Congress against these resolutions.* In this remonstrance Congress was reminded of their solemn engagements to the state of Vermont, in their public acts of August 7th, and 21st, 1781, which had been fully complied with on the part of the state,

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* Jan. 9, 1783.

but which Congress had refused or neglected to fulfil: They were told that by their own articles of confederation, they had no right to interfere, or meddle with the internal police of any of the United States; and least of all with that of Vermont, from which they had not received any delegated authority whatever: That Vermont had as good a right to independence, as Congress; and as much authority to pass resolutions prescribing measures to Congress, as Congress had to prescribe measures, directing them to receive the banished, and make restitution to criminals of the property which had been taken from them by due course of law, for their crimes against the laws and authority of the state: They were reminded that they were pursuing the same measures against Vermont, which Britain had used against the American Colonies, and which it had been judged necessary to oppose at every risk and hazard: That their proceedings tended to make the liberty and natural rights of mankind a mere bubble, and the sport of state politicians: That it was of no importance to America to pull down arbitrary power in one form, that they might establish it in another: That the inhabitants of Vermont had lived in a state of independence from the first settlement of the country, and could not now submit to be resolved out of it by the influence which Newyork, their old adversary, had in Congress: That they were in full possession of freedom, and would remain independent, notwithstanding all the power and artifice of Newyork: That they had no controversy with the United States, complexly considered; but were at all times ready and able to vindicate their rights and liberties, against the usurpations of the state of Newyork.

With regard to that part of the resolves, which declared "the proceedings of Vermont to be derogatory to the authority of the United States, and dangerous

dangerous to the confederacy, and such as required the immediate interposition of Congress to relieve the sufferers, and preserve peace," they answer, That it appears like a paradox to assert that the exercise of civil law in Vermont should be derogatory to the authority, or dangerous to the confederacy of the United States ; or that the interposition of Congress would be the means of establishing peace in the state. Law, justice, and order, they assert were established in Vermont, before Congress passed their late resolutions ; what discord they would occasion, time would determine : But that it was the general opinion that a ratification of their stipulated agreement, would have had a more salutary tendency to promote peace, than their late resolutions.

As to the requisition that "the state without delay make full and ample restitution to those who had been condemned to banishment and confiscation of estate," they observe, That Congress has been so mutable in their resolutions respecting Vermont, that it is impossible to know on what ground to find them, or what they design next. At one time they guarantee to the states of Newhampshire and Newyork, their lands to certain described limits, leaving a place for the existence of the state of Vermont ; the next thing Vermont hears from them, is, they are within these limits controlling the internal government of the state. Again, they prescribe preliminaries of confederation, and when complied with on the part of the state, they unreasonably procrastinate the ratification.

To that part of the resolves in which the state was threatened, "that the United States would take effectual measures to enforce a compliance with their resolutions, in case they should be disobeyed by the people of said district," they return for answer, That the state would appeal to the justice of his excellency General Washington ; and as the general and
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most of the inhabitants of the contiguous states, were in favour of the independence of Vermont, it would be more prudent for Congress to refer the settlement of this dispute to the states of Newyork and Vermont, than to embroil the confederacy with it.—But supposing Congress had a judicial authority to controul the internal police of the state, the state had a right to be heard in its defence : That the proceedings of Congress were wholly unjustifiable, upon their own principles ; and that coming to a decision of so important a matter, *ex parte*, and without any notice to the state, was illegal, and contrary to the law of nature and nations.—The remonstrance was concluded with soliciting a federal union with the United States, agreeable to their preliminary agreement, which their committee had reported, was “ become *absolute* and *necessary* on their part to be performed ;” and from which, they were assured, Vermont would not recede.

The assembly met in the month of February, and sent their remonstrance to Congress. Like that of the governor and council, this was also plain, spirited, and decisive ; announcing to Congress in the plainest terms, that they should not intermeddle in the internal affairs of government ; and that they were fully resolved, to maintain their independence.

The effect produced by these acts of Congress, was in every respect different, from what that body seem to have expected. Instead of being awed into submission, the people and government of Vermont concluded they were produced by the influence of Newyork ; and determined that they never should be executed. The evasive, irresolute, contradictory acts of Congress, had nearly destroyed all the faith and confidence, which the people of Vermont had reposed in that body : And it was generally thought it would not be best, to have any connexion with them ; but only to keep up the custom and form of

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choosing delegates every year, to represent the state of Vermont.

The war with Greatbritain, had proved greatly distressing to every part of the United States ; but it had served to establish an union among the people of America, which could not have been so firmly cemented, but by the prospect of common danger. This appearance was now come to an end. On January the 20th, 1783, the preliminary articles of peace were signed by the ministers of the king of Greatbritain, and the United States of America. In this treaty the former colonies were acknowledged to be free, sovereign, and independent states. By putting an end to the war, this treaty put an end to the embarrassments of Congress, and to all the fears of the people of Vermont. An union with the confederation, was no longer a matter of immediate and urgent necessity. The state had now no external enemies to oppose, or any body of troops to be raised, or kept in pay. Weary of so long and distressing a war, all parties wished for the repose and tranquillity of peace ; and were heartily desirous of dropping all occasions of controversy and debate.— The business of Congress however, became more and more embarrassing. Their currency had failed, their revenues were exhausted, their armies were dissatisfied and unpaid, the debts they had contracted were unfunded, the public creditors were every where full of complaints against their proceedings, and they had no resources to answer the demands that were perpetually made upon them. Few of the states paid much regard to their resolutions, and it was now fully evident that their powers were inadequate to the public business of the United States, and that the articles of union and confederation were essentially defective. Without power to relieve themselves under these embarrassments, the Congress was daily sinking into a state of insignificance

cance and contempt ; and the public affairs of the union were constantly becoming more and more embarrassed with weakness, disorder, the want of wisdom, credit, and power.

In such a state of things, an admission into the confederacy of the states, ceased to be an object of any importance, or even desire. Vermont was happy in being free from the load of debt, which lay upon the United States ; and was not perplexed by the constant calls of Congress, to raise the necessary sums of money. The legislature had acquired wisdom and experience in governing the people, from the difficulties in which they had been engaged. It had not been in their power to contract very large debts, nor was it necessary or practicable to impose heavy taxes upon the people. The state had a large quantity of valuable lands to dispose of; and purchasers and settlers were constantly coming in from all the Newengland states.—Thus, by one of those sudden transitions which are common to human affairs, from the most distressed and perplexed state, the condition and prospect of the people of Vermont, became at once more easy and flattering than those of their neighbours. Encouraged by the mildness of the government, the smallness of the taxes, the fertility and cheapness of the lands, large additions were annually made to their numbers and property, by the accession of inhabitants from other states.—There was nothing therefore in the public affairs of the United States, or in those of Vermont, that could lead the inhabitants any longer to wish for an admission into the confederation. The body of the people felt that they were in a better situation, than the people in the neighbouring states : And it was the general inclination and desire not to be connected with the union, if it could be decently avoided.

In this situation things remained; until several of the leading men in the United States, became alarmed

ed with the operation and tendency of public affairs. Statesmen of ability and information saw that the powers invested in Congress, were in effect, only the powers of a diplomatic body; and wholly inadequate to the purposes of federal government: And that the liberties, the safety, and the union of America, could not be preserved, unless an adequate and efficient government could be established in the United States. Virginia had the honour to lead, in the first avowed opposition to the British king and parliament: And she was the first that attempted to call a convention of the states, to form a new federal constitution. The measure was crowned with that success, which might be expected from the deliberate consultations of a free and uncorrupted people, aiming to secure the public safety. A new federal constitution was adopted by the people of America: And a new Congress, furnished with competent powers, met in the city of Newyork, March 3d, 1789.

Like the other citizens of America, the people of Vermont were anxious to know, what would be the policy and proceedings of the federal government. Their interest had not been much promoted by the measures of the Congress, with whom they had formerly transacted business. But there was now a general expectation among the people, that something wiser and better, was to take place: But they had learned from experience, that there was no other way to judge with certainty, of the excellency of any constitution, or government, but by the good which it did to the people. In the course of one or two sessions, they found the federal government had been labouring to restore the public credit, to do justice to the public creditors, to provide for the payment of the public debt, and to establish a system of equal law and justice, in every part of the federal government. Measures thus marked with
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wisdom and justice, served to abate the fears that many had entertained, and to conciliate the minds of the people to federal sentiments : And the prospect seemed favourable, that every part of the American states might be brought to act with union and vigour, in support of the federal system.

But the ancient difficulty with Newyork, was not yet removed. That state had indeed given up all prospect, and probably all desire, of subduing Vermont by force, or by policy ; and well knew that Vermont was, and would remain, a free and independent state. But large tracts of land had been granted by the governors to individuals : These tracts of lands, by means of the increasing settlements and prosperity of Vermont, were become greatly valuable. The government of Vermont had uniformly refused to acknowledge the validity of these grants, or submit to any of the legislative acts of Newyork, and had made new grants of all those tracts of land : And was unalterably fixed in refusing to admit the legality of any legislative act of Newyork, which related to the territory of Vermont. The grantees under Newyork, were constantly complaining of the injuries that were done to them, in not being permitted to take possession of their property ; and of the injustice that would be established, if the government of Newyork should suffer their lands to be thus taken from them without an equivalent. Much pains had been taken to compromise the difficulty, but without coming to any general agreement : And the government of Newyork did not conceive any very strong obligation lay upon them, to refund that to individuals, which the state had no hand in granting ; but which was simply an act of the crown of Greatbritain, executed by the will of the royal governor ; generally for his personal profit, always for the benefit of his particular friends,

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but never for any emolument to the government or people.

A course of events at length occurred, which rendered the views of Newyork, more favourable towards Vermont. Disputes relative to the permanent seat of the federal government; ran high in Congress. After repeated trials, the decision sometimes fell in favour of remaining at Newyork; and sometimes in favour of removing to Philadelphia; and it was finally carried in favour of Philadelphia, by a very small majority. Kentucky, it was foreseen, would soon be admitted into the federal union: And Virginia, to whose territory it belonged, with great dignity and honour, instead of opposing, was aiming to promote that event. The representation from the eastern states, was diminished of its just proportion, by the exclusion of Vermont; and this had already proved to the disadvantage of Newyork. If their old controversy could be settled, it was apparent that the interests and influence of these states, would in almost every instance coincide.—The public sentiment called loudly, for the same measure. To what purpose, it was said, is Vermont kept out of the union?—Is it not in the full and complete possession of independence; and as well regulated and governed as the other states?—And shall the federal union throughout the whole territory, be obstructed, and rendered incomplete, by the ancient and endless controversy, between Newyork and Vermont?

Newyork wished with the rest of America, to have the federal union completed: And without calling to view the former occasions of contention, passed an act, July 15, 1789, appointing commissioners with full powers to acknowledge the independence of Vermont, and to settle all matters of controversy with the state. On October the 23d, 1789, the legislature of Vermont appointed commissioners on
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their part, to treat with those of Newyork, with powers to adjust, and finally determine, every thing which obstructed the union of Vermont with the United States.—The commissioners from both states, were themselves very desirous to have Vermont brought into the federal union. The only point of difficulty and debate, related to a compensation for the lands claimed by the citizens of Newyork, which had been regranted by the government of Vermont. After two or three meetings of the commissioners, the matter was brought to an equitable and amicable agreement.

October the 7th, 1790, “the commissioners for Newyork by virtue of the powers to them granted for that purpose, declared the consent of the legislature of Newyork, that the state of Vermont be admitted into the union of the United States of America ; and that immediately upon such admission, all claims of jurisdiction of the state of Newyork, within the state of Vermont, shall cease ; and thenceforth the perpetual boundary line between the state of Newyork, and the state of Vermont shall be” as was then holden and possessed by Vermont, that is, the west lines of the most western towns which had been granted by Newhampshire, and the middle channel of Lake Champlain.—With regard to the lands which had been granted by Newyork, “the said commissioners by virtue of the powers to them granted, declare the will of the legislature of Newyork, that if the legislature of the state of Vermont should, on or before the first day of January, 1792, declare that on or before the first day of June, 1794, the said state of Vermont would pay the state of Newyork, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, that immediately from such declaration by the legislature of the state of Vermont, all rights and titles to lands within the state of Vermont, under grants from the government of the colony of Newyork, or from the
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state of Newyork, should cease," those excepted, which had been made in confirmation of the grants of Newhampshire.

This proposal and declaration being laid before the legislature of Vermont, they very readily agreed to the plan, which had been concerted by the commissioners from both states; and on October 28, 1790, passed an act directing the treasurer of the state, to pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars to the state of Newyork, at the time proposed; adopting the western line, as the perpetual boundary between the two states; and declaring all the grants, charters, and patents of land, lying within the state of Vermont, made by or under the late colony of Newyork, to be null and void, those only excepted which had been made in confirmation of the grants from Newhampshire.

In this amicable manner, was terminated a controversy, which had been carried on with great animosity for twenty six years. Both sides were weary of the contest, and happily for them, the general state of America led to moderation, equity, and wisdom: And this seems to have been the only period, in which the matter could have been adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties.

The difficulties with Newyork being thus removed, the assembly of Vermont proceeded to call a convention of the people, to take into consideration the expediency of joining the federal union. The convention met at Bennington, January 6, 1791. The members were not all agreed in the expediency of being connected with the thirteen states: And it was doubted whether a majority of the people, were for the measure. Several members of the convention wished to defer the consideration of the question, to a more distant period. It was urged on the other hand, that the safety, the interest, and the honour of Vermont, would be essentially promoted

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by joining the union of the other states ; and that this was the precise time, when it might be done without difficulty, or opposition. A large majority of the members were convinced that the matter could not be put off any longer ; and after a debate of three days, the question was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one hundred and five to two. This being the only business for which the convention had been called, it was dissolved January 11th.

The general assembly of Vermont met at Bennington, January the 10th. On the 18th, they made choice of the Honourable *Nathaniel Chipman*, and *Lewis R. Morris*, Esq; their commissioners to attend Congress, and negotiate the admission of the state into the union of the confederated states of America. The commissioners repaired to Philadelphia, and laid before the president of the United States, the acts of the convention and legislature of Vermont ; and on February 18th, 1791, the admission of Vermont was completed, by an act of Congress, without any debate, or one dissentient vote. By this event all the controversies respecting Vermont, were brought to a conclusion : She was to take her seat in Congress, March 4, 1791 ; and the federal union was completed, in every part of the United States of America.

The violence and duration of the controversies, in which Vermont was so long engaged, proved unfavourable to the state of society in that, and in the adjacent states. During the first part of their contest with Newyork, there was not any settled form of government in Vermont. The people transacted their business, by the meetings of towns and plantations ; by committees, leaders, and officers, appointed and submitted to, by general consent. The opposition to Newyork was one continued scene of violence, and the minds of the settlers were constantly agitated by the most uncomfortable passions : But a

general fear of the final issue, prevented both parties from proceeding to bloodshed. But in one instance, was there any person slain, in this quarrel. In March 1775, during the session of a court holden under the authority of Newyork at Westminster, one man was shot through the body in the court house. But it gave such a general alarm, that both parties were more cautious to avoid the extremes of irregularity. In this stage of the controversy, the settlement of the country was much prevented by the contrary claims which subsisted, and the violences they produced.— In the latter part of the year, 1781, the controversy with Newhampshire bore a very serious aspect. Chesterfield in that state, was one of the towns which had joined with Vermont; but some of the inhabitants still adhered to the jurisdiction of Newhampshire. A constable under the authority of Vermont, went to serve a writ upon one of the inhabitants of that town. His authority was denied, and an officer, under the authority of Newhampshire, interposed. In the course of the contest, the Newhampshire officer with one or two of his adherents, were imprisoned by the officer from Vermont. Orders were given by the government of Newhampshire, to raise the *posse comitatus*, and liberate the imprisoned sheriff by force. The governor and council of Vermont sent three agents to Exeter, to endeavour to compromise the matter with the government of Newhampshire. One of these was a sheriff of Vermont: By way of retaliation, he was immediately imprisoned at Exeter. Alarmed with this approach to hostilities, both governments were obliged to interpose to prevent more violent measures, which threatened to break out into a civil war.—In 1784, the secretary of Vermont was arrested in the city of Newyork, on account of his political conduct in Vermont: The matter being laid before the general assembly of the state, they unanimously resolved that such lands

in the territory of Vermont, as belonged to the citizens of Newyork, should be sold, until money enough was raised from their sales, to make full restitution to their secretary for all the charges and damages which might accrue, from his arrest in Newyork.

These violences were unfavourable to the settlement of the country ; they tended to keep the minds of the people, in a state of irritation ; and had an ill effect on the state of society. But it is worthy of remark, how extremely unwilling the people of America were, to proceed to war with one another. In their highest state of provocation and resentment, they abhorred the idea of killing and slaughtering each other. Unused to the practices of rebellion, murder, and assassination, when they were exasperated with the highest sense of injuries, they had no intention or idea of kindling a civil war in their country, of destroying those who opposed them, or of staining the American system of freedom, with blood and slaughter. So far from this, that amidst a violent opposition to one another, they were all agreed, that the war should be carried on with unceasing vigour against Greatbritain ; but that no other war should be permitted to exist in the country.

But although all parties had cautiously avoided enkindling a civil war in their country, they had been hurried into great mistakes and errors. The people of Vermont had no idea of opposing the government of Newyork, until the governor and council of that province had proceeded to make new grants of their lands, which they had bought under the royal grants, and subdued by extreme labour and hardship. To relinquish all their property, to reduce themselves and families to a state of beggary, and submit to have all the profit of the labour and sufferings of their whole lives wantonly taken from them, and given to others ; there was an insolence and cruelty in this kind of oppression, to which they ought

ought not to have submitted, so long as it was in their power to prevent it. Instead of being softened, the iniquity of this oppression was increased, by its being committed under the ostentatious authority of the king, the law, and the government of New-york. The settlers certainly did right in opposing such pretensions, and proceedings. They felt with an irresistible evidence, that the natural rights of men, were of an higher original, and of a more sacred authority, than the variable decisions of a British king, or the rapacious views of a provincial governor, and council : Such opposition to these proceedings, as was necessary in order to be effectual, was undoubtedly justifiable by the law of nature and nations.—But Vermont was not without error, in suffering the sixteen towns from Newhampshire, to join with her. This was opening the door to irregularity, and confusion; and in the event, was of more disadvantage, than benefit; and ought, in the first instance, to have been prevented. But when Newhampshire and Newyork were aiming to divide the whole territory of Vermont between them, Vermont was not blameable for defending herself by the same policy, and receiving their towns and settlements into her confederation.

Newyork had a proper right to claim the jurisdiction of the whole territory, which the royal decision had assigned to her, in 1764: And had she been content with this, there never would have been any controversy about the matter. Her great error was in regranting the lands, and ejecting the settlers from the estates, which they had honestly bought before of the highest British authority; and made valuable by their labour, sufferings, and hardships. It is true, the proceedings of Newyork were all agreeable to the forms of their laws : Instead of being a justification of those proceedings, the abuse and cruelty became greater from this circumstance; for injustice,

is most of all odious, when it is calmly and deliberately done, under the colours of law and government.—Under the royal governments such proceedings had not been altogether uncommon, nor was it in the power of the people to prevent them: But when the people had taken the powers of government into their own hands, these errors certainly ought to have been corrected. A perseverance in the same error, seems to have rendered the claims of Newyork, disagreeable to Congress; and in the event, united the public opinion, in opposition to her claims, and in favour of those of Vermont.

Newhampshire had just occasion for offence, at the proceedings of her citizens, in the seceding towns; and with the government of Vermont, for receiving them into her confederation. But there was not, either sound policy, or any advantage, in extending her claim over the whole territory: No colour of title, or any pretence of right, could be found for such a claim; and the design of it was perfectly well understood.

How far Congress was forced to adopt an evasive policy, by the circumstances of the war, it may be difficult for those who were not in the cabinet, to determine. Her great business, undoubtedly was to preserve peace and union among the states; and to prevent their contentions, from injuring the common cause. This end was effected: But it does not seem to have been produced by the policy of Congress, but by the virtue of the people. The measures of Congress respecting the controversies of Vermont with Newhampshire and Newyork, served rather to displease all parties, than to satisfy any. Such was their uncertainty, their contradictory, and evasive nature, that when the dangers occasioned by the war were removed, the people of Vermont had very little desire or inclination to be much connected with Congress. It was not until more steadiness, vigour,
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and ability, appeared in the federal government, that the people were willing to be brought into the American union.

Amidst the errors and evils which attended these controversies, they were found to produce some good effects. They served to exercise and draw forth abilities and powers, which proved of great service to their country, when they came to be employed in the grand contest with Britain. They led the people to acquire just sentiments of the rights of men, and of the nature, importance, and extent of government. At that period, every thing in America seemed to operate, to promote political knowledge. The principles of civil liberty, which were but imperfectly considered in the writings of Locke, Sydney, and Montesquieu, occurred every moment to the views and feelings of the whole body of the people: Instead of being any longer barely the discoveries of a few enlightened philosophers, they became the prevailing sentiments of the whole body of the American citizens: And from that period until now, they have been constantly operating to produce a more natural form of government, a more perfect system of freedom, and a more flourishing state of society in America, than ever had been known before, among all the associations of men.

C H A P. XII.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—*The Employments of the People: Agriculture, Manufactures, Hunting, Commerce, the Profits of Labour.*

IN the natural constitution of man, the author of nature seems to have established the limits, below, and above which, the human race cannot be found. Somewhere within these limits, every nation will take its place: But where, depends chiefly upon the state of society. It should seem that several of the nations of the earth, are yet near the ultimate point of depression; and have been so, from time immemorial. But what is the ultimate point of perfection to which men may rise, we cannot determine. The many and great imperfections, which attend the state of society in every nation, seem to denote that none of them have as yet, made very near approaches to it.

The causes which produce the degradation, or the superiority of one nation to another, will always be found in those things, which have the greatest effect, in constituting their state of society. Among these, the employments of the people, their manners and customs, their religion, their government, their population, and the degree of freedom which they enjoy, will always be among the capital articles. A just description of these, would afford a proper account of the state of society, in this part of America.

EMPLOYMENTS

EMPLOYMENTS OF THE PEOPLE.

AGRICULTURE.—The body of the people in Vermont are engaged in agriculture. In a new country where the settlements are yet to be made, agriculture puts on a very different appearance from that, which it bears in the ancient and well cultivated settlements. There, the business is to cultivate and improve the farms, which have been already greatly improved: To increase the produce, by the application of more labour and cultivation, and thus to derive a greater profit from the land. In a new settlement, the first business of the husbandman is to cut down the woods, to clear up the lands, to sow them with grain, to erect the necessary buildings, and open the roads; and thus to connect and form a communication between the scattered settlements, and make the most of his labour.—Amidst the hard living and hard labour, that attends the forming a new settlement, the settler has the most flattering prospects and encouragements. One hundred acres of land in a new town, does not generally cost him more than he can spare from the wages of one or two years. Besides maintaining himself, the profits of his labour will generally enable a young man, in that period of time, to procure himself such a tract of land.—When he comes to apply his labour to his own land, the produce of it becomes extremely profitable. The first crop of wheat will fully pay him for all the expense he has been at, in clearing up, sowing, and fencing his land; and at the same time, increases the value of the land, eight or ten times the original cost. In this way, every day's labour spent in clearing up his land, receives high wages in the grain which it procures, and adds at the same time a quantity of improved land to the farm. An acre of land which in its natural state, cost him perhaps
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the half of one day's labour, is thus in one year made of that value, that it will afterwards annually produce him from fifteen to twenty five bushels of wheat; or other kinds of produce, of equal value. In this way, the profits attending labour on a new settlement; are the greatest that ever can take place in agriculture; the labourer constantly receiving double wages. He receives high wages in the produce of his corn or wheat; and he receives much higher wages of another kind; in the annual addition of a new tract of cultivated land to his farm. This double kind of wages; nature with great benevolence and design; has assigned to the man of industry, when he is first making a settlement in the uncultivated parts of America: And in two or three years, he acquires a very comfortable and independent subsistence for a family; derived from no other source but the earth, and his own industry.

In every country, agriculture ought to be esteemed, as the most necessary and useful profession. The food and the raiment by which all orders of men are supported, must be derived from the earth. Agriculture is the art, by which this is effected; and of consequence the art which supports, supplies, and maintains all the rest. It ought therefore to be esteemed the primary; the fundamental; and the most essential art of all; that which deserves the first and the greatest consideration, and encouragement.— The wealth drawn from agriculture; is permanent and durable; not subject to the uncertainties attending that, which is derived from commerce; and not dependent upon the inclinations, the dispositions, or the regulations of other kingdoms and countries. The people that thus live by their own agriculture, are independent of other nations; and need not be affected by their wars, revolutions, or convulsions; but may always have the means of support and independence,

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pendence, among themselves. While they have that which is drawn from the cultivation of the land, they will have every thing that nature and society can need, or have made valuable.

The other professions, those especially of the liberal arts, are of great utility, and of high importance, and they are what society could not flourish without. But they derive their importance and utility from the imperfections of man, and of society ; and do not of themselves, add any thing to the wealth of nations. The physician, the lawyer, the divine, the statesman, and the philosopher, are engaged in employments of great utility to mankind. But there is not one of them, that adds any thing to the wealth and property of the community : They must all derive their support, from the cultivation of the land. Of all arts and professions then, agriculture ought to be esteemed the most useful, and the most important. It is the art which produceth, and nourishes all the rest. The other arts teach how to preserve the health, the property, and the morals of men ; to enlarge their understandings, and to give a right direction to their minds : But this provides food, raiment, and support for them all.

In no way, has the glory of nations been more expanded, than by their attainments and discoveries in science. The mathematicians have measured, and settled the dimensions of the solar system : But the new settler, has in fact, enlarged the bounds of the habitable creation. The philosophers have expanded our minds with the ideas, and evidence, that the other planets are inhabited ; but the simple and honest farmer, has made the earth the place for more inhabitants than it ever had before. And while the astronomers are so justly celebrating the discoveries, and the new planet of Herschel, all mankind should rejoice, that the simple peasant in the wilderness,

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has found out a way, to make our planet bear more men.

Those employments which are the most necessary, and the most useful to men, seem to be the most nearly connected with morality and virtue. Agriculture appears to be more nearly allied to this, than any of the arts. The man that is constantly pursuing the business, which nature has assigned to him, seems to have but little to corrupt him. In the many histories of corruption, there is not any account, that the body of the husbandmen ever became a corrupt, venal, and debauched generation. They must first be led to desert their employments, or they must be blinded and deceived, before they can be made fit tools for politicians to corrupt, and manage. Their profession tends to render them an industrious, hardy, incorrupted, and honest set of men. It is never in the body of the husbandmen, but among the speculators, politicians, and leaders of mobs, that we look for a settled trade, and high attainments, in venality and corruption.

MANUFACTURES.—Next to agriculture, the chief source of employment is manufactures. These are chiefly of the *domestic kind*, designed to procure clothing for families. In no part of the United States, does the farmer meet with more success in raising sheep. The climate agrees well with the breed of sheep, that is spread over the territory: And the richness of the pastures, in new settlements, gives an extraordinary sweetness to the meat, and richness to the fleece. It is not uncommon for a sheep of two or three years old to weigh one hundred and twenty pounds, and to afford three or four pounds of wool. And from the wool of their own raising, the bigger part of the farmers manufacture the woollens, which are used in their families. In no places does flax succeed better, than on the new lands. The common produce from one acre, is
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from four to five hundred pounds. Every family raises a quantity of flax, and carries on a small manufacture of linen. These domestic manufactures, are of the highest importance to the people. When the country shall be well settled, wool and flax will become two of its most capital productions. At present, there is not enough of either annually produced, to supply the inhabitants.

Great advantages may be derived to the state, from the *manufactures of iron*. Large quantities of iron ore are found in several of the towns, on the west side of the green mountains. Tinmouth, Rutland, Pittsford, and Shoreham, contain great quantities. The ore in these towns is of a reddish kind, mixed with earth tinged with yellow ore. It melts easily, and produces from one seventh to one fourth of iron. The iron is mostly of the coldshire kind, works easily, and makes excellent nails. The principal part of the ore that has hitherto been used in this state, has been brought from a mountain on the west side of Lake Champlain, about four miles north of Crown Point. This ore is of a black, heavy kind; mostly iron, mixed with a grey flintstone. The iron in this ore, appears in large grains, some of them nearly as large as a pea; These grains appear to be of pure iron. Some of this ore is so peculiarly rich, that when it is well managed, it will yield four sevenths of pure iron; but is exceeding hard to melt. When the ore is well worked, it produces the best iron for chains, horse shoes, nails, &c. and such matters as are drawn lengthways. When applied to uses which require plaiting widthways, it does not answer so good a purpose; though it is neither coldshire, nor redshire. The same kind of ore is found in many of the mountains, on the west side of the Lake, as far south as its waters extend.— A country thus abounding with the richest kind of iron ore, naturally invites the settlers to the iron manufactures.

manufactures. And they have already (1792) erected several forges, and furnaces. In Bennington county they have one forge; in Rutland county fourteen; in Addison county four; and in Chittenden county two. In addition to which three furnaces are also erected, in the county of Rutland. From these works, large quantities of bar iron are annually produced. The manufacture of nails is already become common, and profitable; and every other branch of the iron manufacture, must soon be so.—These manufactures, like every thing else in the new settlements, are as yet in their infancy. But if we may judge from the plenty, or the ease and cheapness, with which an immense quantity of the best kind of iron ore may be procured, we shall be apt to conclude that nature has designed this part of the United States, to be the seat of very flourishing manufactures of every thing that can be made of iron, or steel.

The manufacture of *pot* and *pearl ashes*, is still more extensive, and useful. The immense quantity of wood, with which the country is every where covered, may supply any quantity of ashes for this purpose: And the greatest economy takes place in collecting the ashes, made either by culinary fires, or those which are designed to burn up the wood, where the inhabitants are clearing the lands. In almost every new settlement, one of the first attempts, is to erect works for the pot and pearl ash manufacture: And there are probably as many works of this kind, as there are settled towns in the state. The business is every where well understood; and there is no better pot or pearl ashes made in any part of America, than that which is produced in Vermont. It has hitherto taken from four hundred and fifty to four hundred and eighty bushels of ashes, to make one ton of pot ash. Constant attempts are now made, to find out a way of extracting more of the

the salts from the ashes, than has been heretofore done by the common method of bleaching; and also to extract more salts from the ashes, which have been thrown aside as useless. Flattering prospects seem to have attended some chymical experiments of this kind; and improvements have been made in the method of constructing the works for the pot ash. But much further improvements are necessary, before these imperfect attempts, can be of any very valuable use to the manufacturer. — The quantity of pot and pearl ashes, which is annually made in Vermont, cannot be exactly stated. From the best accounts I could procure, in the year 1791, the quantity might be estimated at about one thousand tons: Probably this may be near the truth. But whatever may be the quantity produced at present, it is rapidly increasing; and probably will for several years, bear some proportion to the increase of their inhabitants. As the mountains will not fail to supply wood for this manufacture, for centuries yet to come, it seems that Vermont will be one of the states, in which this manufacture will be attended with its greatest perfection and profit.

The manufacture of *maple sugar* is also an article of great importance to the state. Perhaps two thirds of the families are engaged in this business in the spring, and they make more sugar than is used among the people. Considerable quantities are carried to the shopkeepers; which always find a ready sale, and good pay. — The business is now carried on, under the greatest disadvantages: Without proper conveniences, instruments, or works; solely by the exertions of private families, in the woods, and without any other conveniences than one or two iron kettles, the largest of which will not hold more than four or five pailfulls. Under all these disadvantages, it is common for a family to make two or three hundred pounds of maple sugar, in three or four weeks.

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This manufacture is capable of great improvements. The country abounds with an immense number of the sugar maple trees. The largest of these trees are five and an half or six feet in diameter; and will yield five gallons of sap in one day; and from twelve to fifteen pounds of sugar, during the season. The younger and smaller trees afford sap or juice, in a still greater proportion. Were the workmen furnished with proper apparatus and works, to collect and boil the juice, the quantity of sugar might be increased, during the time of making of it, in almost any proportion: And it might become an article of much importance, in the commerce of the country.—I have never tasted any better sugar, than what has been made from the maple, when it has been properly refined; it has a peculiarly rich, salubrious, and pleasant taste. But it is generally made under so many unfavourable circumstances, that it appears for the most part, rough, coarse, and dirty; and frequently burnt, smoaky, or greasy, when it is first made.—In one circumstance only, does nature seem to have set bounds to this manufacture, and that is with respect to time. It is only during four or five weeks in the spring, that the juice can be collected. While the trees are frozen at night, and thawed in the day, the sap runs plentifully: But as soon as the buds come on, the sap ceases to flow in such a manner, as that it can any longer be collected.—We cannot determine with much accuracy what quantity of this sugar is annually made in the state. In the town of Cavendish, in the spring of the year 1794, the quantity made by eighty three families, was fourteen thousand and eighty pounds. If the families in the other towns manufacture in the same proportion, there must be above one thousand tons annually made in Vermont.

Several *distilleries* have of late been erected in this state. The object of them is to make such spirituous
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liquors, as can be extracted from grain. Considering the large quantities of wheat, rye, and barley, that are raised in the country, it seems probable that these distilleries will soon be in a flourishing state. All kinds of grain are raised so easily upon our lands, and in such quantities, that the farmer can find no sale, and has no use for them. They might immediately be raised to double their present quantity, if there was any demand for them. The distilleries have met with good success in their attempts to make gin. And nothing seems wanting, but time, and experience, to produce large quantities of all those spirits, that can be produced from grain. As yet these works are in their infancy; probably they will become a lucrative branch of business to their owners, and of very considerable advantage to the state.

HUNTING.—Hunting was formerly a business, which was much pursued, and attended with considerable profit in this state. The country, in its early state, abounded with moose, deer, bears, foxes, wolves, rabbits, martins, &c. In the lakes and creeks, there were large numbers of beaver, otter, muskrats, and minks. The flesh of some of these animals, and the furs of all of them, proved a lucrative branch of business to some of the first settlers. But as the settlements increase, the wild animals disappear, and in a few years they will be scarcely to be found at all. At present the peltry may amount to one or two thousand pounds per annum; but it has almost ceased to be attended with a profit, adequate to the expense.

COMMERCE.—Commercial concerns afford employment for a considerable number of people. This branch of business is wholly confined to the adjacent parts of the country: Part of it is carried on with Connecticut, part with Massachusetts, a considerable part with the province of Canada, but much the largest part with Newyork. The articles that
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are brought into the state are chiefly rum, wines, brandy, and gin: Coarse linens and woollens, and the various articles of cheap clothing: Tea, coffee, chocolate, and all the articles necessary for building, which are not yet produced in the country. The exports are grain of all kinds, bar iron, and nails: Pot and pearl ashes; beef, pork, live cattle, horses; lumber, pelt-ry, some flax, and maple sugar.—The amount of the commerce of an inland country, cannot be very accurately ascertained; nor have we any way to determine, what quantity of goods are annually brought into the state; or to what value, the remittances annually amount.—The trade itself has been of great advantage, in promoting the settlement of the country; but the carriage of the articles, being chiefly by land, and through long and bad roads, has been attended with great expence; and has much prevented the raising of wheat, and other kinds of grain. The natural channels into which the trade of Vermont will resolve itself, will be a water carriage upon Connecticut river; and through Lake Champlain, down the rivers of Hudson, and St. Lawrence. As vigorous attempts are now making, to render all these waters better suited to the purposes of navigation, the time cannot be far distant, when commerce shall be more easily carried on, become much increased, and be attended with much greater advantages to the state.

In any of these employments, the labourer has the prospect of acquiring not only a very comfortable living, but sufficient property to maintain a family. The price of labour will always bear a proportion to the profits it will produce, and to the demand which there is for it. In a new country every one that can perform a day's work, will find employment in any part of the country. In agriculture, the labourer can procure seventy dollars a year for his work; equal in value to one hundred and twen-

ty bushels of wheat. In the busy seasons of the year, the common price of a day's labour is half a dollar; in winter not more than half this sum. All kinds of labour are in the usual proportion to that of agriculture.—Of these wages it will take twenty dollars, to procure comfortable clothing; the remainder the labourer is able to reserve for other purposes. Thus by labouring for another for two or three years, the labourer becomes independent, and works afterwards upon his own land or flock.

The writers upon political economy in Europe, are constantly mentioning the great advantages which accrue to trade and commerce, from an extreme cheapness of labour. The beneficial effects that would arise from it in America, would be no compensation for the disadvantages that would attend it. It would not be any advantage to the country, to carry on any branch of business, which would not support itself, and pay well for the labour. Least of all would it be of any public benefit, to have the profits of the labour of many, centre in the hands of a few wealthy men. This would reduce the body of the people to poverty, dependence, and venality; and introduce all that endless confusion of laws for the support of the poor, which has perplexed all the wealthy parts of Europe, for more than a century. Those laws, with their perpetual alterations, plainly denote that the difficulty does not admit any remedy from the ordinary course of law.—In every country, in which the state of society is such, that the labourers have the prospect and the hope of acquiring property, that body of men are as active, enterprising, and economical, as any other order in the state. Take from them, under any pretence, the proper profits of labour, and all prospect and hope of acquiring ease and property by it, and the European consequences will follow: The poor will every where abound, the wealthy must maintain them, and both

both will be dissatisfied : Speculators will be perpetually proposing new laws, and the more the laws are multiplied, the worse will be the condition of the poor; and the greater will be the expense of the rich. This will be the unavoidable consequence, when the wealth of a nation has passed into the hands of a few men : Or when the body of the workmen, instead of labouring upon their own property, continue to serve under a master.

C H A P. XIII.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—*Customs and Manners: Education, early Marriages, Activity, Equality, Economy, and Hospitality of the People.*

THE customs and manners of nations are derived from descent, situation, employment, and all those regulations which have an influence upon the state of the people; and they serve better than other circumstances to ascertain the character of nations, and to denote the state of society at any given period in their history.—The customs and manners of the people of Vermont, are principally derived from the people of Newengland, from whom they are descended; But in a few particulars they have received a direction, from the state of society which takes place among the settlers in a new country.

EDUCATION.—Among the customs which are universal among the people, in all parts of the state, one that seems worthy of remark, is, the attention that is paid to the education of children. The aim of the parent, is not so much to have his children acquainted with the liberal arts and sciences; but to have them all taught to read with ease and propriety; to write a plain and legible hand; and to have them acquainted with the rules of arithmetic, so far as shall be necessary to carry on any of the most common and necessary occupations of life. All the children are trained up to this kind of knowledge: They
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are accustomed from their earliest years to read the Holy Scriptures, the periodical publications, newspapers, and political pamphlets ; to form some general acquaintance with the laws of their country, the proceedings of the courts of justice, of the general assembly of the state, and of the Congress, &c. Such a kind of education is common and universal in every part of the state : And nothing would be more dishonourable to the parents, or to the children, than to be without it. One of the first things the new settlers attend to, is to procure a schoolmaster to instruct their children in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic : And where they are not able to procure, or to hire an instructor, the parents attend to it themselves. No greater misfortune could attend a child, than to arrive at manhood unable to read, write, and keep small accounts : He is viewed as unfit for the common business of the towns and plantations, and in a state greatly inferior to his neighbours. Every consideration joins to prevent so degraded and mortifying a state, by giving to every one the customary education, and advantages.—This custom was derived from the people of Newengland ; and has acquired greater force in the new settlements, where the people are apprehensive their children will have less advantages, and of consequence, not appear equal to the children in the older towns.—No custom was ever better adapted to private, or public good. Such kind of education and knowledge, is of more advantage to mankind, than all the speculations, disputes, and distinctions, that metaphysics, logic, and scholastic theology, have ever produced. In the plain common good sense, promoted by the one, virtue, utility, freedom, and public happiness, liave their foundations. In the useless speculations produced by the other, common sense is lost, folly becomes refined, and the useful branches of knowledge are darkened, and forgot.

EARLY MARRIAGES.—Another custom, which every thing tends to introduce in a new country, is early marriage. Trained up to a regular industry and economy the young people grow up to maturity, in all the vigour of health, and bloom of natural beauty. Not enervated by idleness, weakened by luxury, or corrupted by debauchery, the inclinations of nature are directed towards their proper objects, at an early period; and assume the direction, which nature and society designed they should have. The ease with which a family may be maintained, and the wishes of parents to see their children settled in the way of virtue, reputation, and felicity, are circumstances, which also strongly invite to an early settlement in life. The virtuous affections are not corrupted nor retarded by the pride of families, the ambition of ostentation, or the idle notions of useless and dangerous distinctions, under the name of honour and titles. Neither parents nor children have any other prospects, than what are founded upon industry, economy, and virtue.—Where every circumstance thus concurs to promote early marriages, the practice becomes universal, and it generally takes place, as soon as the laws of society suppose the young people of sufficient age and discretion to transact the business of life.—It is not necessary to enumerate the many advantages, that arise from this custom of early marriages. They comprehend all that society can receive from this source; from the preservation, and increase of the human race. Every thing useful and beneficial to man, seems to be connected with obedience to the laws of his nature: And where the state of society coincides with the laws of nature, the inclinations, the duties, and the happiness of individuals, resolve themselves into customs and habits, favourable, in the highest degree, to society. In no case is this more apparent, than in the customs of nations respecting marriage. When
wealth,

wealth, or the imaginary honour of families, is the great object, marriage becomes a matter of trade, pride, and form; in which affection, virtue, and happiness, are not consulted; from which the parties derive no felicity, and society receives no advantage. But where nature leads the way, all the lovely train of virtues, domestic happiness, and the greatest of all public benefits, a rapid population, are found to be the fruit.

ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRIZE.—A spirit of activity and enterprize is every where found in a new state. Depending upon their own industry, and having nothing to expect from speculation and gaming in public funds, or from the errors or vices of government, the views of the people are directed to their own employments and business, as the only probable method of acquiring subsistence, and estate. Hence arises a spirit of universal activity, and enterprize in business. No other pursuits or prospects are suffered to divert their attention; for there is nothing to be acquired in any other way. Neither begging, or gaming, or trading upon public funds, measures, and management, can be profitable employments to the people who live at a distance from wealthy cities, and the seat of government. The only profitable business, is to pursue their own profession and calling.—To this pursuit their views become directed; and here, their activity and enterprize become remarkable. No difficulty or hardship seem to discourage them: And the perseverance of a few years generally serves to overcome the obstacles, that lay in their way at first. It is only those who are of this enterprising spirit, who venture to try their fortunes in the woods; and in a few years, it generally raises them into easy and comfortable circumstances.—To the most essential and necessary duties of man, heaven has annexed immediate and important blessings. The people thus active, labo-

rious, and perpetually in hard exertions, are destitute of many of the conveniences of life; and of what, in every populous city, would be esteemed its necessities. Can their health and spirits remain unimpaired, amidst this scene of hard living, and hard labour? Will they not waste away thus labouring in the woods, without good living, able physicians, and the advantages of medicine? So far from it, that no people have so few diseases, multiply so fast, or suffer so little from sickness. Temperance and labour do more for them, than art and medicine can do for others. The disorders which wear away the inhabitants of wealthy cities, are almost unknown in the woods. Very few die, but under the unavoidable decays of nature; and the deaths are to the births, in no higher a proportion than 1 to 4.8. Unacquainted with the improvements which are made in the medical art in Europe, the people of the new settlements neither know the names of the diseases, or their remedies; nor stand in any need of their discoveries, or prescriptions. The benevolent Author of Nature has annexed that health to their temperance, industry, and activity, which is never found in drugs, medicines, or any attainments of art. And while the people are thus active and industrious in performing their duty, the property and health of individuals, and the prosperity of the state, are all found to flourish together.

EQUALITY.—The nearest equality that ever can take place among men, will also be found among the inhabitants of a new country. When a number of men are engaged in the same employments and pursuits, and have all of them to depend upon their own labour and industry for their support, their situation, views, and manners, will be nearly the same; the way to subsistence, to ease, and independence, being the same to all. In this stage of society the nearest equality will take place, that ever can subsist among
men.

men. But this equality will be nothing more than an equality of rights; and a similarity of employment, situation, pursuit, and interest. In a new country this similarity will be so great, as to form a near resemblance of manners and character; and to prevent any very great inequalities of privilege from taking place in society; either from rank, offices of government, or any other cause.—But nothing ever did, or ever can produce an equality of power, capacity, and advantages, in the social, or in any other state of man. By making men very unequal in their powers and capacities, nature has effectually prevented this. The whole race resemble one another in the make and form of their bodies; in their original appetites, passions, and inclinations; in reason, understanding, and the moral sense, &c. But in these respects it is similitude, not equality, which nature has produced. To some, the Author of Nature has assigned superiour powers of the mind, a strength of reason and discernment; a capacity of judging, and a genius for invention, which are not given to others. To others, the Deity has assigned a strength, vigour, and firmness of constitution, by which the bodily powers are more favoured in one, than in another. Causes thus natural and original, will be followed with their natural and proper effects. Superiour wisdom and abilities, will have superiour influence and effect in society. Superiour strength and activity of body, will also have advantages peculiar to themselves. In making these natural distinctions, nature evidently designed to qualify men for different attainments, and employments. And while she gave to all the nature and the rights of man, she assigned to some a capacity and a power, to make a much more useful improvement and exercise of that nature, and of those rights, than she has given to others.—Thus a state of nature is itself a state of society, or at least naturally tends to produce

it. And in the earliest stages of society, all that equality will take place among mankind, which is consistent with it. Placed in a situation nearly similar, the employments, views, and pursuits of the people, become nearly the same. The distinctions derived from birth, blood, hereditary titles and honours, and a difference of rights and privileges, are either unknown or resolve themselves into nothing, among a people in such a situation; in every view, they cease to be of any use or importance to them. Their situation naturally leads them to discern the tendencies, and designs of nature. They all feel that nature has made them equal in respect to their rights; or rather that nature has given to them a common and an equal right to liberty, to property, and to safety; to justice, government, laws, religion, and freedom. They all see that nature has made them very unequal in respect to their original powers, capacities, and talents. They become united in claiming and in preserving the equality, which nature has assigned to them; and in availing themselves of the benefits, which are designed, and may be derived from the inequality, which nature has also established. Wherever a number of people are engaged in a common, economical, laborious pursuit of subsistence, property, and security; such views of their equality, and rights, immediately occur to their minds; they are easily discerned, and they are perfectly well understood.

ECONOMY.—Every thing in the situation and employments of the people, in a new country, will naturally tend to produce economy. There are no large estates, or cultivated farms, prepared beforehand for the heir. Every thing for food, raiment, and convenience, must be procured by the labour and industry of the planter; and it is not without much difficulty, and hardship, that the people can procure the necessaries of life at first, or the conveni-
niences

niences of it afterwards. What is thus procured with labour and difficulty, will be used with prudence and economy. The custom will not be to fall into scenes of expensive entertainments, amusement, and dissipation : But to provide for the calls and demands of nature, to preserve the health and vigour of the body, and to be able to raise up and support a family. And this will of course, introduce a steady regard to economy, in all their expenses, habits, and customs.—The influence that this has on the affairs of individuals, and on the state of society, is every where apparent. No such degrees of wealth can ever exist in any place, as shall be equal to the demands of luxury. And where custom has introduced a habit of living and expense, above the annual income, dependence, venality, and corruption, with constant want and distress, is the never failing consequence. But the most pernicious of all the effects of luxury, is the degradation it brings on the nature of man. It destroys the vigour and powers of men, and by constantly enfeebling the body and mind, seems to reduce them to a lower order of beings. The body, weakened by excessive indolence and indulgence, loses health, vigour, and beauty, and becomes subject to a thousand emaciating pains and maladies. The mind, subdued by indolence and inactivity, scarcely retains its rational powers ; and becomes weak, languid, and incapable of manly exertions, or attainments. To a state thus degraded, effeminate, and unmanly, luxury frequently reduces those, who bear the remains of the human form. Political writers have frequently argued that luxury was of real service to the nations of Europe ; that it tended to find employments for the poor, and was necessary to keep the money in circulation. This reasoning cannot be contradicted : But it supposes the state of society to be essentially bad ; and that it cannot be supported but
by

by the management, operations, and balance of vices. In such a state of society, luxury is certainly a benefit : And the highest degree of it, would be the greatest benefit of all. It would be the best thing that could happen in such a society, for the corrupted venal part to spend their estates, by luxury and dissipation, and to have them pass into other hands. This would be far better for mankind than to have them live useless, be constantly corrupting others, or train up an emaciated feeble race, degraded by effeminacy and weakness, below the rest of the human race. Whatever might be done to load such with honours, titles, and distinctions, it will be impossible ever to make them men ; or at least such kind of men, as shall be upon terms of equality with the rest of the human race.—Activity, industry, and economy, will prevent such a race from appearing, or such effects from taking place, in any of the new states of America.

HOSPITALITY.—That benevolent friendly disposition, which man should bear to man, will appear under different forms, in different stages of society. In the first combinations of mankind, when all are exposed to danger, sufferings, and want, it appears in one of its most amiable forms, and has been called hospitality. In this form it exists among the people who are subjected to the common danger, fatigue, and sufferings, which attend the forming of new settlements. Feeling every moment their own wants and dangers, they are led by their situation, to assist each other in their difficulties and danger. The traveller finds among them, all the relief their circumstances will enable them to afford him : And before they are able to erect houses for public entertainment, the stranger is sure to find the best accommodations, the situation of private families will admit.—This hospitable disposition seems to be universal, in all the new settlements : And the
unfortunate

unfortunate and poor man finds a relief from it, which he never expects to find among a more wealthy people. No custom was ever better adapted to afford relief to an individual, or to promote the advantage of the state. A beggar or robber is scarcely ever to be seen in a country, where there is nothing to be obtained by the business. The poor find their relief in labour, and not from a multiplicity of laws, which extract large sums from others, but afford little relief to them. And from the profits of their labour, they will soon cease to be in distress. Those that appear to be objects of distress, are generally such in reality. And where the public has not been abused by such pretences, few will be exposed to suffer on such accounts. In such a state of society, hospitality naturally performs what it ought to perform: It encourages none in idleness and dissipation, but relieves those whose circumstances require relief. It provides only for those, who cannot find other resources; and aims only to put such into a situation, in which they may support themselves, and be of use to the public.

C H A P. XIV.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—*Religion : Importance of this Principle, Danger of any Controul in it, Equality of all Denominations, Effect of this Equality, Grants and Laws for the Support of Religion, Extent of Religious Liberty, Connexion of Religion with Science and Education.*

RELIGION is one of those concerns, which will always have great influence upon the state of society. In our original frame and constitution, the Benevolent Author of our Natures, has made us rational and accountable creatures : Accountable to ourselves, to our fellow men, and to our God. These foundations of religion, are so strong, and universal, that they will not fail to have an effect upon the conduct of every one : And while they thus enter into the feelings and conduct of all the members, they will unavoidably have a great influence upon the state and conduct of society. Nor can society either set them aside, or carry on the public business without them. Instead of this, in one form or another, society will be perpetually calling in the aids of religion. When human declarations and evidence are to receive their highest force, and most solemn form, or when the most important transactions are to be performed, and offices of the highest trust and consequence are committed

mitted to men, the last appeal will be to religion, in the form of solemn affirmation or oath.

The most pure and benevolent system of religion, which has ever prevailed among men, is that of Christianity. This religion founded in truth, and adapted to the nature and state of man, has proposed for its end and aim, that which is of the highest importance to men and to society, universal benevolence, the love of God and man, or universal virtue. But neither this, nor any other system of moral truth, can impart infallibility to men. Whatever infallibility there may be in moral, in mathematical, or in revealed truths, men may greatly mistake when they come to explain, and apply them : And instead of being above all possibility of error, they will find that infallibility belongs only to the government of God ; and that it certainly is not entailed upon any parties, or denominations of men.— Nothing therefore could be more dangerous, than to allow to any of these denominations the power to make laws to bind the rest, in matters of religion. The ruling party would vote themselves to be the only pure denomination, they would make the rest contribute to their support, and establish their own sentiments and practice, as the perfection of knowledge, wisdom, and religion ; and in this way adopt measures, which tend to entail all their imperfections and errors, upon future ages. The dominion of one party over another in matters of religion, has always had this effect : It has operated to confirm error, oppress the minority, prevent the spirit of free inquiry and investigation ; and subjected men to the most unrelenting of all persecutions, the persecution of priests and zealots, pleading principle to justify their vilest actions.—At the same time, every good man feels himself bound not to renew or admit any such authority in matters of religion. The obligations of religion are antecedent to, and more
strong

strong than any obligations derived from the laws of society. The first and the most important obligation any man can feel, is to obey his Maker, and the dictates of his own heart. The peace of our minds depends more essentially upon this, than any other circumstance in the course of human life.—What then has society to do in matters of religion, but simply to follow the laws of nature : To adopt these, and no other ; and to leave to every man a full and perfect liberty, to follow the dictates of his own conscience, in all his transactions with his Maker ?

The people of Vermont have adopted this principle, in its fullest extent. Some of them are episcopalians, others are congregationalists, others are of the presbyterian, and others are of the baptist persuasion ; and some are quakers. All of them find their need of the assistance of each other, in the common concerns and business of life ; and all of them are persuaded, that the government has nothing to do with their particular and distinguishing tenets.—It is not barely *toleration*, but *equality*, which the people aim at. Toleration implies either a power or a right in one party, to bear with the other ; and seems to suppose, that the governing party are in possession of the truth, and that all the others are full of errors. Such a toleration is the most that can be obtained by the minority, in any nation, where the majority assume the right and the power, to bind society, by established laws and forms in religion. The body of the people in this commonwealth, carry their ideas of religious liberty much further than this : That no party shall have any power to make laws or forms to oblige another ; that each denomination may lay themselves under what civil contracts and obligations they please ; but that government shall not make any distinctions between them ; that all denominations shall enjoy equal

equal liberty, without any legal distinction or pre-eminence whatever.

The effect of this religious freedom, is peace, quietness, and prosperity to the state. No man is chosen to, or excluded from civil offices, on account of his particular religious sentiments. The clergy of the several denominations, have no chance to assume any powers, but among their own party. The people are under no obligation to support any teachers, but what they choose to lay themselves under. And no civil advantages are to be gained, or lost, by belonging to one denomination, rather than to another. The causes and the motives to contention, being thus taken away, there is scarcely any thing left to influence men to join one denomination rather than another, but belief, sentiment, and conscience. In this equality of all parties, religious professions become what they always ought to be; not matters of gain, profit, or civil distinctions; but matters of opinion, persuasion, and conscience: Sentiments and faith respecting the Deity, in which none expect to find the power of oppressing or ruling over others; but the same protection and benefit from the government, which they are at equal expense in supporting.

The settlement and support of the ministers of religion, has been encouraged and assisted by the government. The earliest grants of land in this state, were made by Benning Wentworth, governor, of Newhampshire. This gentleman was of the communion of the church of England. In the grants of land that were made by him, there were three rights in each township reserved for religious purposes: One to the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts; one for a glebe, designed for the use of an episcopal clergy; a third for the first settled minister, intended for his private property, to en-

courage the settlement of a minister in the new plantations. In the grants of townships, which have been made by the government of Vermont, two rights have been reserved for the support of a clergy : One for a parsonage, designed for the support of a minister, and unalienable from that purpose ; another to become the property, and designed to encourage the settlement of the first minister. This right accrues to the first clergyman who is settled in the town, of whatever denomination he may be.—The salary of the minister ariseth wholly from the contract which the people may make with him. These contracts are altogether voluntary : But when made, by a law passed October 18, 1787, are considered as being of equal force and obligation as any other contracts ; but no persons of a different denomination are obliged by them. The law has no reference to any particular denomination, but considers them all as having a right to make what contracts they please, with the minister they choose ; and being of course bound by their own act, to fulfil their contract. A law designed to confirm the equal rights of all, is not subject to the exceptions or complaints of any party.

No embarrassments have attended any of the grants of land, which have been made for religious purposes, but those designed for a glebe, and those made to the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. In most of the towns there are not any persons of the episcopal persuasion, nor any incumbent to have the care of the glebe lots. The society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, have not concerned themselves about the lands, which were granted to them. Both these rights have remained unimproved and uncultivated, except where individuals have gained possession of them ; and it has been a disadvantage to the state, to have such tracts of land lying waste. It has been repeatedly a matter

matter of consideration in the general assembly, what ought to be done with these lands.—Instead of coming to any decision upon the matter, in October, 1787, the general assembly passed an act, authorising the selectmen of the several towns, to take care of and improve the glebe and society lands, for the space of seven years; and to apply the incomes to the improvements of the lands, those excepted, which were in the possession of an episcopal minister. This law has been but little attended to, and is not at all competent to the improvement of the lands, or to render them beneficial to the state, or to any valuable purpose.—In any view of the matter, these lands ought not to be suffered to remain useless, and detrimental to the state. If the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, had made such an assignation of them, as would have served to promote religious instruction and knowledge, the people would have had the benefit that was intended by the grantor. If this be neglected an unreasonable time, it becomes the duty of the legislature, to prevent their remaining a public disadvantage to the state, by continuing uncultivated and useless.

The principles of religious liberty, are asserted in their fullest extent, in the constitution of Vermont. In the declaration of rights, there is a clause which seems to be adequate to the subject, and clearly expresses the religious rights of the people.—“Nor can any man be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments, or peculiar mode of religious worship; and no authority can, or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner controul the rights of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship.”* In the plan of government formed in

1778,

* Declaration of rights, Article III.

1778, and revised in 1786, a religious test was imposed upon the members of the assembly, inconsistent with the above declaration : In the late revision of the constitution (1792) this imperfection has been done away ; and religious liberty has acquired a complete establishment, by a declaration that " no religious test shall be required of any member of the legislature."*

A greater attention to the liberal arts and sciences, would be of great advantage to the religious and civil interests of the state. The people of Vermont have not the advantages for the education of their youth, or the improvement of knowledge, which the people in the other states have. The disadvantages and dangers, which arise for want of literary institutions, are greater than they are aware of. The religion of ignorance, will either be, infidelity, or superstition ; and it often produces an unnatural mixture of both, greatly unfavourable to the moral, and civil interests of men. When folly, in its own view, is become infallible and sacred, it opposes with obstinacy, all improvements in society ; and requires, with a peculiar insolence, the submission of all other men, to its own weakness and bigotry. The only remedy for the difficulties which arise in society, from this cause, is the increase of knowledge and education. And where society is destitute of the means and institutions, which are requisite to promote knowledge, it is without one of its most essential advantages ; the means of her own cultivation, and improvement.

The education of children for the common business of life, is well attended to. But the customary methods of education for the professions of divinity, law, or physic, are extremely deficient ; and do not promise either eminence, or improvement. The
body

* Plan or frame of government, Section V.

body of the people appear to be more sensible of this defect, than professional men themselves. From the first assumption of the powers of government, the assembly had in contemplation, the establishment of an university in the state; and with this view, reserved one right of land in all the townships which they granted, for the use of such a seminary. In November, 1791, the legislature passed an act establishing the university at Burlington, upon a liberal, catholic, and judicious foundation. It has not as yet, entered upon the business of instruction. If it should be furnished with able and judicious instructors, by extending the benefits of education, and promoting an attention to the arts and sciences, it would greatly assist the intellectual and moral improvement of the people: These improvements are of essential importance to men, in every stage of society; but most of all necessary, when they are forming a new state.

C H A P. XV.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—*Nature of the American Government. Constitution of Vermont, Laws, Counties and Courts, Annual Expense of Government, Public Revenue, Militia, Popularity of the Government.*

NATURE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. } THE object and the principle of government is the same, in every part of the United States of America. The end or the design of it, is the public business; not the power, the emolument, or the dignity, of the persons employed, but only that public business which concerns either the whole federal territory, or some particular state.—The *principle* on which all the American governments are founded, is *representation*. They do not admit of sovereignty, nobility, or any kind of hereditary powers; but only of powers granted by the people, ascertained by written constitutions, and exercised by representation for a given time.

Governments founded on this principle, do not necessarily imply the same *form*. They do not admit of monarchy, or aristocracy; nor do they admit of what was called democracy by the ancients. In the ancient democracies the public business was transacted in the assemblies of the people: The whole body assembled to judge and decide, upon public affairs. Upon this account, the ancient democracies were found to be unfit, and inadequate to the government of a large nation. In America this difficulty

difficulty never occurs: All is transacted by representation. Whatever may be the number of the people, or the extent of the territory, representation is proportioned to it; and thus becomes expressive of the public sentiment, in every part of the union. Hence the government in different states, though chiefly republican, varies in its form; committing more or less power to a governor, senate, or house of representatives, as the circumstances of any particular state may require. As each of these branches derive their whole power from the people, are accountable to them for the use and exercise they make of it, and may be displaced by the election of others; the security of the people is derived not from the nice ideal application of checks, ballances, and mechanical powers, among the different parts of the government; but from the responsibility, and dependence of each part of the government, upon the people.

This kind of government seems to have had its form and *origin*, from nature. It is not derived from any of the histories of the ancient republics. It is not borrowed from Greece, Rome, or Carthage. Nor does it appear that a government founded in representation ever was adopted among the ancients, under any form whatever.—Representation thus unknown to the ancients, was gradually introduced into Europe by her monarchs; not with any design to favour the rights of the people, but as the best means that they could devise to raise money. The monarchs who thus introduced it, with a view to collect money from the people, always took care to check it when it ventured to examine the origin and extent of the privileges of the sovereign, or of the rights of the people.—In America every thing tended to introduce, and to complete the system of representation. Made equal in their rights by nature, the body of the people were in a situation nearly similar

similar with regard to their employments, pursuits, and views. Without the distinctions of titles, families, or nobility, they acknowledged and revered only those distinctions which nature had made, in a diversity of talents, abilities, and virtues. There were no family interests, connexions, or estates, large enough to oppress them. There was no excessive wealth in the hands of a few, sufficient to corrupt them. Britain tried in vain to force upon them a government, at first, derived from the decrees of her parliament; afterwards, from conquest. Nothing remained for such a people, but to follow what nature taught; and as they were too numerous to attempt to carry on their governments in the form of the ancient democracies, they naturally adopted the system of representation: Every where choosing representatives, and assigning to them such powers as their circumstances required. This was evidently the system of government, that nature pointed out: And it is a system that has no where been suffered to prevail but in America, and what the people were naturally lead to by the situation, in which Providence had placed them. The system of government then in America, is not derived from superstition, conquest, military power, or a pretended compact between the rulers and the people; but it was derived from nature, and reason; and is founded in the nature, capacities, and powers, which God hath assigned to the race of men.

All the *power* that such governments can have, is derived from the public opinion. The body of the people while they remain industrious and economical, will be steadily attached to the public interest, which will entirely coincide with their own. They will more readily discern what their interest is, and be more steadily attached to it, than is to be expected from men who are placed in offices of honour and profit. The public opinion will be much near-

er the truth, than the reasonings and refinements of speculative or interested men : The former will be founded wholly in a desire, and aim, to promote the public safety ; the latter will be unavoidably more or less governed, by private views, interests, and aims : And when the government has the general opinion of the people to support it, it can act with the greatest force and power ; that is, with the collected force and power of the whole nation : And this is the greatest force that ever can be exerted by any government, in any situation whatever.—Despotism never acquires a force equal to this. When a whole nation unite, and the public spirit moves and operates in the same direction, nothing can withstand its force, and the powers of despotism, with all their standing troops and regular armies, fall before it. It is only when the public sentiment and spirit is thus united, and brought into action, that government has acquired, or is able to exert the whole force of the national power.—With this strength, the governments of America amidst every kind of difficulty, rose superiour to all opposition ; firmly established themselves, in fifteen different states ; and gave uncommon vigour and efficacy to a federal establishment, which was designed and adapted to manage the public business of the whole system.

But whatever be the form or the power of government, it cannot attain its greatest perfection, unless it contains within itself, the means of its own *improvement*. The men of civilized countries, are making gradual and constant improvements in knowledge, in the sciences, and in all the arts by which life is made more secure and happy. Hence, that form of government which was best suited to their state in one stage of society, ceases to be so, in another : And unless the government itself improves, with the gradual improvement of society, it will lose much of its respectability, and power ; become unsuited to

the state, and injurious to the people. Despotism has always contemplated the body of the people, as mere mob; and has aimed and operated to keep them in that situation. To governments founded in this principle, the improvement of mankind proves fatal and destructive: And there is nothing, such governments are more anxious to prevent, than knowledge, property, and improvement, in the body of the people.—Built upon the rational and social nature of man, the American government expects to find its surest support, and greatest duration, in the gradual improvement, in the encreasing knowledge, virtue, and freedom, of the human race. The present government of America, is therefore proposed to her citizens, not as the most perfect standard of what man can ever attain to, but only as the best form, which we have as yet been able to discover: Not as a form, which is to bind our heirs and posterity forever, but as a form which is referred to them, to alter and improve, as they shall find best. Upon this idea, it is one of the constituent and essential parts of American government, that conventions shall be called at certain periods of time, to alter, amend, and improve the present form and constitution of government; as the state, circumstances, and improvements of society, shall then require. Thus provision is made, that the improvement of government, shall keep pace with the improvement of society in America. And no policy would appear more puerile or contemptible to the people of America, than an attempt to bind posterity to our forms, or to confine them to our degrees of knowledge, and improvement: The aim is altogether the reverse, to make provision for the perpetual improvement and progression of the government itself.

As this kind of government is not the same as that, which has been called monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy; as it had a conspicuous origin in America,
and

and has not been suffered to prevail in any other part of the globe, it would be no more than just and proper, to distinguish it by its proper name, and call it, *The American System of Government.*

CONSTITUTION OF VERMONT.—The government of Vermont is of the same nature, and founded upon the same principles, as the other governments in the United States. By their constitution, formed in 1778, and revised in 1786, and 1792, the supreme legislative power is vested in a house of representatives of the freemen. Every town has a right to choose a representative, on the first Tuesday of September annually. The representatives so chosen, are to meet on the second Thursday of the succeeding October, and are styled *The General Assembly of the state of Vermont.* They have power to choose their own officers; to sit on their own adjournments; prepare bills, and enact them into laws; they may expel members, but not for causes known to their constituents antecedent to their election; impeach state criminals; grant charters of incorporation, constitute towns, boroughs, cities, and counties; in conjunction with the council they are annually to elect judges of the supreme, county, and probate courts, sheriffs and justices of the peace; and also with the council, may elect majorgenerals, and brigadier-generals, as often as there shall be occasion: They have all other powers necessary for the legislature of a free and sovereign state: But have no power to add to, alter, abolish, or infringe any part of the constitution.

The supreme executive power is vested in a governor, or lieutenantgovernor, and a council of twelve persons, chosen by the freemen, at the same time they choose their representative. The governor, or the lieutenantgovernor and council, are to commission all officers; prepare such business as may appear to them necessary to lay before the general assembly:

sembly : They are to sit as judges to hear and determine on impeachments, taking to their assistance, for advice only, the judges of the supreme court. They have power to grant pardons, and remit fines, in all cases whatsoever, except in treason and murder, in which they have power to grant reprieves, but not to pardon until after the end of the next session of assembly, and in cases of impeachment, in which there is no remission or mitigation of punishment, but by act of legislation. They may also lay embargoes, or prohibit the exportation of any commodity, for any time not exceeding thirty days, in the recess of the house only.—The governor is captain-general and commander in chief of the forces of the state, but shall not command in person, except advised thereto by the council, and then only so long as they shall approve : And the lieutenantgovernor by virtue of his office, is lieutenantgeneral of all the forces of the state.

That the laws before they are enacted may be more maturely considered, and the inconvenience of hasty determinations as much as possible prevented, all bills which originate in the assembly are laid before the governor and council for their revision and concurrence, or proposals of amendment ; who return the same to the assembly with their proposals of amendment (if any) in writing ; and if the same are not agreed to by the assembly, it is in the power of the governor and council, to suspend the passing of such bills, until the next session of the legislature. But no negative is allowed to the governor and council.

The formers of the constitution were aware that the plan of government, which they had drawn up, would not be adequate to the affairs of government, when the state of the people should become different, but must necessarily vary with it : And they wisely made provision to have the whole examined
and

and revised, at the end of every seven years. The provision they made for this purpose was a *council of censors*, to consist of thirteen persons, to be elected by the people every seventh year, on the last Wednesday in March; and to assemble on the first Wednesday in June. The duty assigned to them, is to inquire whether the constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part; whether the legislative and executive branches of government have performed their duty, as guardians of the people; or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers, than they are entitled to by the constitution; whether the public taxes have been justly laid, and collected; in what manner the public monies have been disposed of; and whether the laws have been duly executed. Powers fully competent to these purposes, are committed to them. They may send for persons, papers, and records: They have authority to pass public censures, to order impeachments, and to recommend to the legislature the repealing such laws, as shall appear to them to have been enacted contrary to the principles of the constitution. These powers they may exercise during the space of one year, from the time of their election; and they may call a convention to meet within two years after their sitting, if they judge it necessary.

In examining a constitution of government, the most capital circumstance to be taken into consideration, is, the condition and circumstances of the people, or the state of society among them. At the first assumption of government in Vermont, the form of it differed but little from the democracy of the ancients. From that period, it has been constantly tending to give more power to the house of representatives.—But it is found by experience, that in so popular a government, nothing is more necessary than some provision, like that of the council of censors, to have all the public proceedings revised at
certain

certain periods of time ; and such alterations made in the constitution, as time, events, or the circumstances of the people, may require. As the state of society is progressive, there is no way to have the government adapted to the state of society, but to have the government also progressive ; that both may admit of the improvements, that are gradually made in human affairs. With this provision, a constitution of government which contains many faults, will gradually mend and improve itself, without being forced to the dangers and convulsions of a revolution : And it seems to be the only provision which human wisdom has yet found, to prevent the interposition of such calamities.

LAWs.—So much of the common law of England as is not repugnant to the constitution, or to any act of the legislature, is adopted as law within this state : And such statute laws, and parts of laws of the kingdom of England and Greatbritain, as were passed before the first day of October, 1760, for the explanation of the common law, and are not repugnant to the constitution, or some act of the legislature, and are applicable to the circumstances of the state, are also adopted and made law in Vermont.—The criminal law of Greatbritain seems to be adapted only to a very degraded, vicious, and barbarous state of society. No less than one hundred and sixty crimes are punishable by death. Sanguinary laws and executions have there made death so common and familiar, that it seems to have become one of those common occurrences, which is constantly to be expected, and is very little regarded. Several of the punishments, in the contrivances of their cruelty, are fully equal to any thing that has ever been perpetrated by the Indians of America : In brutal rage and inhuman torture, the punishment assigned to high treason, fairly exceeds any thing the Indian genius could ever conceive.—Such a code of criminal

nal law is wholly unfitted to the uncorrupted state of the people in America ; nor would they in any part of the continent, be persuaded to admit it. Instead of one hundred and sixty, there are only nine crimes, to which the laws of Vermont have assigned the punishment of death : And since the first assumption of government in 1777, there has not been any person convicted of any of these crimes.—What relates to the internal affairs of government, the regulations necessary for a new country, or such as are suited to our particular state of society, are provided for by statutes made for such particular cases and purposes.—To form a code of laws suited to the state of a large nation, has been justly esteemed the most difficult part of government. It does not appear that human wisdom has ever been able to effect this without great errors, in any part of the earth. If it is to be obtained, the particular states of America have now a fair opportunity to make the experiment, how far human wisdom can proceed at present, in effecting this arduous but most important attainment.

COUNTIES AND COURTS.—For the more convenient administration of justice, the state is divided into eleven counties ; viz.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>County Towns.</i>
<i>Bennington,</i>	{ Bennington.
	{ Manchester.
<i>Windham,</i>	Newfane.
	{ Windsor.
<i>Windsor,</i>	{ Woodstock.
<i>Rutland,</i>	Rutland.
<i>Orange,</i>	Newbury.
<i>Addison,</i>	Middlebury.
<i>Chittenden,</i>	Burlington.
<i>Caledonia.</i>	
<i>Essex.</i>	
<i>Franklin.</i>	
<i>Orleans.</i>	

In the four last counties, courts are not to be holden until the first day of October, 1796. In the other counties there are probate courts, justices' courts, county courts, a supreme court, and a court of chancery.

The justices of peace in each county are annually nominated, and appointed by the general assembly : They are of course the same persons, as the members of the assembly from each county, with the addition of a few others. They have power to try and determine all pleas and actions of a criminal nature, where the fines and forfeitures are within the sum of forty shillings, and the corporal punishment shall not exceed ten stripes. They may also try and determine all pleas and actions of a civil nature (other than actions of defamation, replevin, trespass upon the freehold, and where the title of land is concerned) where the debt, and other matter in demand, does not exceed the sum of four pounds ; and also determine on all specialties, notes of hand, and settled accounts, not exceeding the sum of eight pounds. They may also bind over to be tried by the county or supreme court, all criminal offenders, the enormity of whose misdemeanor surpasses their power to try. No judgment rendered by a justice of peace, can be reversed by writ of error : But appeals are allowed to the next county court, in all cases where the judgment for debt or damages, shall exceed the sum of forty shillings.

In each county there is also a county court ; consisting of three judges, who are also annually appointed by the assembly. The county courts, within their respective counties, are to take cognizance of all criminal matters of every name and nature (except such cases as are cognizable only in the supreme court, or before a justice of the peace) and award sentence. But any person prosecuted for a criminal offence, may appeal from the judgment of

a county court, to the next supreme court. All actions and causes of actions of a civil nature (except such actions as are made cognizable solely before the supreme court, or justices of the peace) must be originally commenced, and prosecuted to effect in a county court.

The supreme court of judicature consists of three judges, to be annually chosen by ballot, by the governor, council, and general assembly, at their October session. This court has cognizance of all pleas of the state, criminal actions and causes, and whatsoever relates to the conservation of the peace, and punishment of offenders; and also of civil causes or actions between party and party, and between the state and any of its subjects, whether the same be brought into said court by appeal, writ of error, or in any other legal way whatsoever. The supreme court has original exclusive jurisdiction of the crimes of adultery, polygamy, and all capital felonies, of treason, misprison of treason, counterfeiting the currencies of the state, and every species of forgery, perjury, subordination of perjury, incest, rapes, defaming the civil authority of the state, and all other crimes and misdemeanors, where a fine or penalty is going to the state treasury, or where the punishment extends, either by common or statute law, to the loss of life, limb, or banishment.—The supreme court begins their circuit in Bennington county, on the first Tuesday in August: From thence it proceeds to Rutland, the next adjacent county, beginning the session there on the second Tuesday in August; and in this order proceeds through all the counties in the state, beginning the session in the next county, on the succeeding Tuesdays, until they have finished the circuit in seven weeks at Windham county: And it is left to the chief justice, to call a special court, where the exigencies of government shall require it.

A court of chancery is also constituted in the state of Vermont; to be holden in the several counties within the state, at the several times and places appointed by law for holding the supreme court of judicature. The judges of the supreme court, are constituted judges or chancellors of the court of chancery. They have all the powers, usually exercised by that court in the kingdom of Greatbritain, and in the neighbouring states, and not repugnant to the constitution. The manner of process in this court, is to be governed and regulated by the judges; conforming, as near as may be, to the rules and precedents established in the courts of chancery, in the kingdom of Greatbritain.

ANNUAL EXPENSE OF GOVERNMENT.—The annual expense of the government is generally about thirty two or thirty three hundred pounds. In the year 1792, the several articles of it were these,

The governor's salary. £.150 0 0

Lieutenant governor's fees for attending council, fifteen shillings per day.

Counsellors' fees for attending council, seven shillings per day.

Representatives' fees for attending the general assembly, six shillings per day.

Secretary of state's fees for attending the general assembly, twelve shillings per day. } 1196 9 0

Secretary of council's fees for attending the council, nine shillings per day.

Officers attending the general assembly, sheriff, auditor of accounts, chaplain, &c. six shillings per day.

Chief

Chief justice of the supreme court, while on the circuit, one pound seven shillings per day.	}	1305	6	0
Two assistant judges, one pound two shillings per day; orders drawn on the treasury by the supreme court.				
Treasurer's salary.		118	0	0
Occasional expenses. Orders drawn on the treasury, by the auditor of accounts.		449	14	9
Total expense from October 1, 1791, to October 1, 1792.		<hr/> £.3,219 9 9 <hr/>		

These are the constant and annual expenses attending the government, and do not greatly differ in different years: But as the number of representatives is annually increasing, the public expense is annually increasing on that account. There are other expenses which arise almost every year, which are of an occasional, and contingent nature. Of this kind are commissioners for public purposes, the council of censors, conventions &c. As these are only for some particular or occasional purpose, the expense varies with the occasion; and they cannot be estimated among the annual charges of government.—The whole expense then of government, from October, 1791, to October, 1792, amounted to three thousand two hundred and nineteen pounds, nine shillings, and nine pence. If this sum be divided among the inhabitants of the state, as determined by the census taken in 1791, it will amount to but nine pence, or the eighth part of a dollar, for each person. This is the sum that each person in Vermont pays for the protection of his person, property, and the advantages of a free government. I believe there is not any part of the civilized world, in which the inhabitants enjoy the blessings of government, at so small an expense.

PUBLIC REVENUE.—The revenue of the state ariseth wholly from the public taxes. For some time after Vermont had assumed the powers of government, very considerable revenues arose from the unappropriated lands: But as these lands are almost all appropriated, no further incomes can be derived from this source. Commerce, in an inland country, can never be attended with any considerable revenue. The only source that can be found, is taxation.—In the year 1791, the whole list of the taxable property of the state, amounted to £.324,796 18 10. The prices at which the listers were directed to estimate the improved lands, and cattle, were scarcely one half of the current prices of those articles: The estimate therefore in the list, could not amount to one half of the real value of the rateable property of the state. After making an abatement upon this list of £.1,116 8 0 for the twofolds, a tax was voted of two pence half penny, upon the pound; amounting to £.3,371 14 0. The expence of collecting this rate, allowed by law as fees to the collector, is a fiftieth part: And a further abatement is made for the benefit of the poor, of a twentieth part. These abatements being deducted, the sum the government receives is £.3,135 14 0. With the addition of £.83 to this small sum, was the whole expence of government, among eighty six thousand persons, defrayed in the year 1792. If this be compared with the expence of government in Europe, the difference will be found to be infinite: The babe of a monarch, will cost a nation there, thirty or forty times this sum.

It ought also to be recorded, for the benefit and remembrance of the people of America. For this is the place, where a corruption in government, always makes its first appearance. Reasons and causes are easily found, to increase the number of public places and offices: And those who are in power,
and

and derive their living from the public, will compute the honour and dignity of the government, by the sums of public money which are allowed to them. The progress has ever been certain, gradual, and regular; from small beginnings, to the utmost extreme of luxury and dissipation, that the national wealth could supply. It would be almost a miracle, if public affairs should not assume the same aspect and course, in America. If it is prevented, it will not be by government: It can alone be done by the virtue, the knowledge, the economy, and the public sentiment of the people.

MILITIA.—The military force of the state consists of all the able bodied males, from sixteen to forty five years of age; with such exceptions as are customary in the other states. The men are required by law to provide themselves with such arms as are used in times of war, when in actual service. They are divided into companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions. The companies elect their captains, and subalterns. The captains and subalterns appoint the field officers of their respective regiments. The brigadiergenerals, and the major-generals, are appointed by the governor, council, and house of representatives. The governor is captaingeneral and commander in chief, and with the advice of council, is to arrange the whole militia into divisions, and brigades; and may from time to time, make such alterations as he shall think fit. The whole militia of the state, is to be reviewed at least once in two years.

In 1792, the state of the militia was as follows: Twenty regiments of infantry, divided into eight brigades, and four divisions: Fifteen companies of cavalry, and six companies of artillery; the whole computed at eighteen thousand, five hundred.

The staff consists of one captaingeneral, one lieutenantgeneral, four majorgenerals, eight brigadier-generals,

generals, one adjutantgeneral, and one commissary-general.

The militia of Vermont are a body of brave, hardy, robust, and intrepid men. Trained up to hardihip, labour, economy, and hunting, they have all the qualifications that tend to fit men for the military character: Discipline and actual service, transforms them at once, into a body of excellent troops. In the American war, there were no better troops collected from any part of Europe, or America, than the regiments raised in Vermont. The most brave, hardy, and robust militia, will always be found among the inhabitants of new countries.

POPULARITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.—From the experience the people have had, of the influence and operation of the government, they are not only satisfied with it, but they are very strongly attached to it. This is the surest way to judge of all theories, forms, and constitutions of government. What is written upon paper respecting government, is no otherwise good or bad, than as it is applicable to mankind, and may be beneficial, or disadvantageous to them. While government serves to promote the benefit and prosperity of the people, the people will be attached to it. But when the body of the people become discontented and uneasy, it may be presumed, there is some capital error, or vice in the government.—During a century and an half, every part of America, was under the controul of the kings of Europe. The ministers of the European courts were perpetually interfering in the affairs of the colonies, and were persuaded that the colonists had not wisdom enough to govern themselves. Through the whole of this period, all those parts of America flourished the most, in which the European monarchs intermeddled the least: And there was not one spot on the continent, where the inhabitants were not better qualified to govern

govern themselves, than the wisest minister of state in Europe. The one, perfectly well understood their own situation, circumstances, dangers, and interests; and were attached to the welfare of the country: The other, were almost wholly ignorant of the state of things in America; and not at all disposed to promote her interest, any further, than as it served to advance the interest of the crown, under which they served. This must always be the case, where one people are in so unhappy and unnatural a situation, as to be under the government of another.—The people of America have now no restraint, no opposite interest of a foreign king, and parliament, to perplex their government, influence their measures, and oppose their interest. They have every where set up governments for themselves; and they are every where flourishing, and rapidly increasing in their wealth, and numbers: And are not only satisfied, but they are strongly attached to their governments. If there be any certain marks of a good government, those marks are the peace, happiness, and prosperity, the increase, and the affections of the people.

C H A P. XVI.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—*Population: Causes on which this depends, the mean Period of Human Life in the American States, Period of doubling in Vermont, comparative View of Population in new and old Countries.*

POPULATION depends upon two general causes, the original laws of nature, and the state of society.—In the original constitution of animals, the Author of Nature has established certain laws respecting their increase, and multiplication, which cannot be exceeded. These laws relate chiefly to the age at which the female becomes capable of bearing fruit, the numbers that may be produced at one birth, the time that must intervene between one birth and another, and the age at which the female will cease to be prolific. The laws of nature respecting each of these particulars, considered with respect to the human race, are much affected by climate; and are every where subject to universal and constant observation. But they are so far from being accurately known, or ascertained, that whoever shall attempt to make a computation upon either, or all of them, will find that not one of these periods has been marked by observation; and that the mean period required by nature for these purposes, is yet unknown in every country and climate.

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The increase of mankind, thus confined within certain limits by nature, is also very much affected by the state of society. The condition of the body of the people, the ease or the difficulty with which they can procure property to maintain a family, the genius of the civil government, the spirit and regulations of religion, the numbers employed and the destruction occasioned by war, the institutions of celibacy, with the manners and customs of the people, may retard or favour population, to a great degree; and cause it to be very different in the same climate, and at the same place, at different times. Both these causes generally combine, and operate together; and in such a manner, that we cannot separate their effects; or determine how much is to be ascribed to the law of nature and climate, and what is derived from the state of society. This difficulty attends all the tables which have been made of births, deaths, and marriages. Tables of this kind have been made for almost every nation in Europe, and for several places in America. They appear to have been the result of accurate observations and calculation. But the results at different places in the same latitude and climate, have been so different, that no general conclusions can be drawn from them, respecting the natural increase of the human race: They mark what has taken place at a given time, and place; but they afford little information of what is to be expected, from the general course of nature, in any particular country, or climate.

By the late enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States of America, a period has been found in the course of human life, above, and below which the number of the males are nearly equal. This period is nearly at the age of sixteen years. Can we not derive some information, from so remarkable a fact, respecting the increase and population of the people of the United States? And may it not be determined what

must be the operation of nature, to produce and preserve this equality of numbers, below, and above that age?

Let us attempt to compute it upon a given case. Suppose the whole number of people in one of the states of America, amounted to thirty two thousand; one half of which had not attained the age of sixteen, and the other half had passed this period. At the end of sixteen years, the whole number will have passed the mean period, and be found in that number whose age is above sixteen, making together thirty two thousand. — To ballance this number, nature must have produced in the same time, an equal number whose age will be below sixteen: That is, during this period of sixteen years, thirty two thousand must have been born. For every one then that has passed the period of sixteen years, nature must have produced two; otherwise the balance, or an equality in the numbers below and above that age, could not be preserved. And this would also be the exact period of doubling the number of the inhabitants.

This must be the operation of nature, if the subject on whom the calculation was made, had been invariable, or subject to no diminution. But this is not the case. Death is constantly diminishing the number of those whose age is above sixteen, of those whose age is below sixteen; and it diminishes them both, in the same proportion. This curious fact is ascertained by a course of observations, made in several towns in the eastern parts of New Hampshire. At *Hampton* an accurate table of deaths, with the age of each person, was kept by the ministers of the parish, from the year, 1735 to 1791. Similar bills were kept at *East Kingston*, from 1740 to 1771: At *Newmarket*, from 1731 to 1770: At *Dover*, from 1767 to 1786.* The result of these observations

* Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, III. p. 238, 248.

is, that the whole number which died in those towns, during those years, was two thousand and ninety eight. Of these, one thousand and fifty were under sixteen years of age, and one thousand and forty eight above that age. In the result of so long a course of observations, made in four different towns, we may expect to find the regular course of nature, or the natural operation of death, well ascertained. And they seem fully to have established this curious fact, That death has an equal effect, or is constantly destroying equal numbers of those whose age is above, and of those whose age is below sixteen years.

Such is the operation and effect of death: And by constantly diminishing the numbers of mankind, it will every where prolong the period of doubling, beyond the mean period of human life. But to what degree will it retard this event; or to what length of time will it prolong the period of doubling? It will prolong the period of doubling, exactly in that ratio, which the deaths shall bear to the births, in the same period of time.—The bills which were kept in Newhampshire, do not contain an accurate account of the births, but only of the baptisms; and therefore will not serve to discover what proportion the deaths bear to the births, in those towns. But from the bills of mortality, which have been kept in Massachusetts, it has been found that the number of deaths, are annually in a constant and settled ratio to the number of births. At *Hingham*, the aged and venerable Dr. Gay, kept a very exact list of all the deaths and births in his parish, for the space of fifty four years; from 1726 to 1779, inclusive. The deaths amounted to one thousand one hundred and thirteen, the births to two thousand two hundred and forty seven. At *Ipswich*, the Rev. Dr. Cutler, made similar observations for a course of ten years, from Sept. 11, 1771, to Sept. 11, 1781. The number of deaths were one hundred and

and sixty four, the number of births three hundred and thirty one.* At *Salem*, an accurate and able physician and philosopher, C. A. Holyoke, M. D. has given an exact bill for the years 1782, and 1783: The deaths were three hundred and sixty four, and the births seven hundred and two.† In these numbers we have the result of a course of observations carried on in three different places, during a period of sixty six years. The result of the whole, is, that the deaths were one thousand six hundred and forty one, and the births amounted to three thousand two hundred and eighty; that is, the deaths were to the births in the ratio of one to two. This is the annual and constant proportion of death to birth, in the ancient towns, along the sea coast, in Massachusetts. The increase of the people therefore derived from the births, is annually diminished one half by the natural operation of death: And instead of doubling in sixteen years as must have been the case had no one died, the effect occasioned by death, will be, to prolong this period one half; instead of sixteen years the period of doubling will become twenty four. This will be the period of doubling in all those places, where the mean age of human life is sixteen years, and the ratio of death to birth as one to two.

From this method of reasoning, I much suspect that the age at which the numbers of people are equally divided, will in every country prove to be the time, which nature requires in that climate, to produce double the number of people that are then living: That the actual period of doubling, will in fact be retarded in exact proportion to that, which the deaths bear to the births: And that this ratio will very nearly determine what influence the state of society has, on the increase of mankind in any country or town.

* Memoirs of American Academy, Vol. I. p. 566.

† Ibid. 543.

I am not in possession of the data that would be necessary to examine this theory, by the state of things in the ancient and populous countries, of the other hemisphere. But from the enumeration that was made of the inhabitants of the United States of America in 1790, we may venture to compute the state of things among ourselves.—The number of males; their relative proportions, and the age at which the numbers below and above sixteen become equal, are as follows:

	Males below 16 years of age.	Males above 16 years of age.	Difference. Above 16 years of age.	Age at which the numbers below and above 16, become e- qual. Yrs. Mths.
Northern States.— <i>Vermont, Newhamp- shire, Maine and Mas- sachusetts, Rhode- island, Connecticut, and New York.</i>	317,540	338,600	21,060	16 2½
Middle States.— <i>Newjersey, Pennsylv- vania, Delaware, and Maryland.</i>	211,846	223,737	Above 16, &c. 11,891	16 5½
Southern States.— <i>Virginia, Kentucky, Northcarolina, South- carolina, and Georgia.</i>	262,464	44,757	Below 16 years of age. 17,707	15 5½

From this view of the result, it should seem that the middle and northern states were the most favourable to longevity, and the preservation of life: And that the southern states were the most favourable to a rapidity of production, and increase. Whether these circumstances will not ballance each other, and produce an equality in the period of doubling cannot be determined without further observations. In *Massachusetts*, the period of doubling cannot be far from twenty four years and three months. What this period is in the other states, must be determined either from actual observation, or by ascertaining the ratio which the deaths bear to the births. If the enumeration which is to be taken in the year 1800,

1800, should be as particular with respect to the females, as the last was with respect to the males, it would enable us to ascertain several particulars in this part of the natural history of man, which cannot be determined without another enumeration.

It has been generally supposed, that the increase of mankind is most of all rapid, in a new country; and that it is in the new settlements, that nature acts with the greatest force and vigour. Vermont is now in the situation, in which a new country ought to be examined. We have no populous towns, seaports, or large manufactories, to collect the people together. They are spread over the whole country, forming small and separate settlements. Agriculture is almost the universal employment. But few are pinched for want of the necessaries of life, and nothing like luxury has yet taken place among us. The government is highly democratic. In religion the most perfect freedom and equality takes place among all parties. The taxes are no more than what are unavoidably necessary, to preserve the existence and form of government. Lands are easy to be procured, and the soil is rich and fertile.—Every family enjoys nearly the whole produce of their labour. The climate is salubrious and healthy. And neither war, sickness, or famine, have of late diminished the increase, or disturbed the labours of the people.—I do not know that we can find any new country, in which, every circumstance seems more favourable to increase: Or any, in which we may more probably expect to find the *maximum*, which nature and society can produce in such a latitude and climate.—From the enumeration of the inhabitants taken in 1791, we have the following result:

VERMONT.

	Males below 16 years of age.	Males above 16 years of age.	Difference. Above 16 years of age.	Age at which the numbers below and above 16, become equal.
VERMONT.	22,328	22,435	107	16 1

To ascertain the effect produced by the natural operation of death, I have procured a bill of mortality for one of the principal towns, for the years 1789, 90, and 91. It is made for *Rutland*, from the observations of *E. Porter*, and *D. Reed*, two able physicians.

Number of inhabitants in Rutland in 1791.	Deaths.	Births.	Ratio of the deaths to the births.	Period of doubling prolonged by the deaths.
1407	46	223	1 to 4, 85	Years Months. -3 4

From this table it appears that the deaths in Vermont, are to the births, in the proportion of 1 to 4, 85 ; of consequence the period of doubling in this state, at present, is nineteen years and five months.*

From such views of the increase and population in America, we can scarcely avoid comparing the state of things in the United States, with that of the ancient and populous countries in Europe. In the city of London, if we may judge from the annual bills of mortality, the human race are annually decreasing ; the deaths generally exceed the births, about one tenth every year. The savage state was less unfavourable to the increase of mankind, than such large and populous cities : Instead of preserving, they tend to destroy the human race.

In most of the ancient and populous nations of Europe, their forms of government, their ecclesiastical

* Since writing the above I have received from Dr. Asaph Fletcher, an accurate observer and able physician, an account of the births and deaths in the town of *Cavendish*. In the course of seven years the number of births in that town was two hundred and ten ; the number that died in the same period, was thirty. The ratio of deaths to that of births in that town, during this period, has been but as one to seven.

tical establishments, the extreme luxury of one part of the people, and the extreme poverty of the other, their long and bloody wars, their numerous fleets and armies, the numbers which are reduced to servitude, and rendered incapable of supporting families, with the impious institutions of celibacy, have nearly destroyed the natural increase of mankind; or at least they have rendered it extremely slow, and uncertain. "In Greatbritain, and most other European countries, they are not supposed to double in less than five hundred years."*—In vain do politicians go about to celebrate the wisdom of a state of society, which destroys the noblest fruit and production of nature: It must be essentially, and fundamentally bad. The surest proof of the prosperity of any country, is a rapid increase of the people.

* Smith's wealth of nations, Vol. I. 94.

C H A P. XVII.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—*Freedom : Destroyed in some Countries by the State of Society, produced by the Settlement of America, the Cause and Effect of the American War, cannot be preserved by Government, depends on the State and Condition of the People.*

THE employments, the government, the religion, the customs, habits, manners, and condition of the people, constitute their state of society. In the state of society which had taken place in America, the foundations of her freedom were laid, long before the nations of Europe had any suspicion of what was taking place in the minds of men.—Conquest, religion, law, custom, habits, and manners, confirmed by military power, had established a state of society in Europe, in which the rights of men were obliterated and excluded. The property and power of a nation had passed into the hands of the sovereign, nobility and church. The body of the people were without property, or any chance or prospect of securing any ; and without education or knowledge to form them to any rational principles and sentiments. Without property and without principle, they were of little or no consequence, in the view of government. When the contest was whether the king or the commons should gain more power, the meaning was not at all whether the body of the people should be raised out of their degraded

state of ignorance, poverty, and insignificance; but whether that part of the nation, which had acquired much wealth and property, should have more influence in the affairs of government. The body of the people were esteemed as mere mob, wholly inadequate and unfit for the affairs of government. The king, lords, and commons, were agreed in viewing the mass of the people in this light. And as they had neither property, principle, or knowledge, it is probable that the opinion which their rulers formed of them, was but too just.

Such had been the state of society in Europe, for many centuries. Time, law, religion, and power, had combined with every other circumstance, to degrade the people; and to reduce the body of them to the lowest state of abasement, and contempt.—In a state of society, in which every thing had so long deviated from the design and law of nature, it could not be, but that the rights of men should be lost; and the idea of them had nearly perished. Nothing was to be seen but one general degradation of the body of the people, and an unnatural and excessive exaltation of those who had acquired power; every where tending to corrupt both, and to give the most unfavourable idea of the capacity of the former, and of the disposition of the latter. It required the daring spirit of Milton and Sydney, and the abilities of Locke and Montesquieu, to discover the rights of men, when men themselves for many centuries, had made the state of society wholly opposite and contrary to the state of nature. The philosopher had to deduce them from the creation, and nature of man. In this inquiry, the progress, like discoveries in other sciences, was extremely slow and precarious. Interest and reputation were against the progress of this kind of knowledge. The law, the church, and the government, were not only opposed to it, but they punished the discoverers and writers, by whipping.

ping, imprisonments, heavy fines, and death. None but the greatest and most virtuous of men, were either able to investigate, or would dare to assert what belonged to the nature of man, and what was derived from the nature of society.

In America, every thing had assumed a different tendency and operation. The first settlers of the colonies, had suffered severely under the bigotry and intolerance of ecclesiastical power, in the days of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the first. They had not at first, any more knowledge of the rights of human nature than their neighbours, and they were as far from the spirit of candour and toleration. But when they were exposed to severe sufferings on account of their religion, they were placed in a situation, in which their *feelings* would perform for them, what their reason had not acquired sufficient force to effect. They felt, and of course saw, that there was no reason or righteousness in the punishments which were inflicted upon them, on account of their religion. In such a situation, truth occurred to them every moment; and their situation and sufferings effectually taught them, what were the rights of men: They could at once discern and understand the voice of nature, which had no effect upon those in power, and probably would have had more upon them, had they been in the same state.—With these views they came into America. Situation and employment immediately operated to enlarge and confirm the sentiments which their sufferings had first produced. The wilderness was to be cleared up, habitations were to be built, the means of living were to be procured: These occupations were so necessary, that they became unavoidable; and every man who did not mean to perish, was obliged to engage in them. This similarity of situation and employment, produced a similarity of state and condition; at that time, unknown to the rest of the world: The effects

effects of which the first settlers did not at all comprehend, themselves. The bigger part of them revered monarchy, as a sacred institution of heaven ; but they felt at the same time that the honours and distinctions it produced, were of no avail to them. To be wise, strong, industrious, and healthy, to have rulers, judges, and generals, the distinctions which nature urged, they found to be of the highest importance. But to be called a duke, an earl, or a marquis, the distinctions which society had set up against nature, they found could be of no importance to them, and denoted nothing valuable in themselves. Nothing was left for them but to pursue the line and course of nature, which was that of utility and safety. And this could produce nothing but similarity of situation, rights, privileges, and freedom. Every new settlement, was a confirmation of the same state of society ; and notwithstanding the perpetual interference of royal authority, every thing operated to produce that natural, easy, independent situation, and spirit, in which the body of the people were found, when the American war came on.—In such circumstances, the common farmer in America had a more comprehensive view of his rights and privileges, than the speculative philosopher of Europe, ever could have of the subject. The one was in a situation, where the language, dictates, and designs of nature, were perpetually occurring to his views : The other was in a situation, where every thing in society had deviated from nature ; and with infinite labour and study, the first principles, must be deduced from theory and reasoning. Learning their principles from the state of society in America, *Paine*, and other writers upon American politics, met with amazing success : Not because they taught the people principles, which they did not before understand ; but because they placed the principles which they had learned of them, in a very clear and striking

ing light, on a most critical and important occasion.

When the war came on, the leaders of mobs, and the mobs which they created, appeared in their true light : The former sunk into contempt, and the latter were soon suppressed. The enlightened, virtuous, substantial body of uncorrupted citizens, took up the business. Unacquainted with the state of society here, Europe saw with wonder, the spirit of freedom unconquerable in America : Rising, the more it suffered, the more superiour to all the attempts of the wisest and most powerful nation of Europe. The ministers of Britain at that time, were men of great eminence and abilities, in managing business, upon the European system : But they had no ideas of the state of things in America, or of a system in which nature and society had combined to produce and to preserve freedom. What they called rebellion, was only the tendency of nature and society towards freedom, made more active, by their opposition. Mistaking the cause, they perpetually mistook in their measures : And what could not have happened from any other cause but total mistake, it was their singular ill fortune never to judge right, either through design, or by mistake.—The result was the natural effect of things. It did not partake of the nature of miracles, of the extravagant spirit of chivalry, or of the madness of religious or political enthusiasm. It was nothing more than the natural effect, of natural causes. Freedom, for a century and an half, had been the constant product and effect, of the state of society in the British colonies : And when the decisive trial was to be made, this state of society produced its natural effect ;—a firm, steady, unabating, and unceasing contest, which could not admit of any other period, but the total destruction, or complete establishment of freedom.

No other cause but that which first produced the freedom of America, will prove sufficient to support and preserve it. It is in the state of society that civil freedom has its origin, and support. The effect can never be more pure or perfect, than the causes from whence it arises; and all those causes terminate in the state and condition of the people.— The form of government by which the public business is to be done, a bill of rights, to ascertain the just claims of the people, a constitution to direct and restrain the legislature, a code of laws to guide and direct the executive authority, are matters of high importance to any people; and are justly esteemed among the wisest productions, of ancient or modern times. But no people ought to expect that any thing of this nature will avail to secure, or to perpetuate their liberties. Such things are consequences, not the causes; the evidences, not the origin of the liberties of the people. They derive their whole authority and force, from the public sentiment; and are of no further avail to secure the liberties of the people, than as they tend to express, to form, and to preserve the public opinion. If this alters and changes, any bill of rights, any constitution or form of government, and law, may easily be set aside, be changed, or be made of none effect. For it will never be dangerous for the government of any people, to make any alterations or changes, which the public opinion will either allow, justify, or support. Nor ought any people to expect, that their legislators or governors will be able to preserve their liberties, for a long period of time. Any body of men who enjoy the powers and profits of public employments, will unavoidably wish to have those profits and powers increased. The difficulties they will meet with in the execution of their office, the unreasonable opposition that will be made by many to their wisest and best measures, and the constant at-
tempts

tempts to displace them, by those whose only aim and wish is to succeed them; such things, joined with a natural love of power and profit, will not fail to convince all men in public employments, that it would be best for the public to put more confidence and power in them. While they thus wish and aim to increase and add strength to their own powers and emoluments, those powers and emoluments will be called the powers and the dignity of government. It may be doubted whether men are much to blame, for wishing and aiming at that, which their situation and employment naturally leads to. The effect seems to be universal. It has ever been the case that government has had an universal tendency, to increase its own powers, revenues, and influence. No people ought to expect that things will have a different tendency among them: That men will cease to be men, or become a more pure and perfect order of beings, because they have the powers of government committed to them.

Upon what then can the people depend, for the support and preservation of their rights and freedom? Upon no beings or precautions under heaven, but themselves. The spirit of liberty is a living principle. It lives in the minds, principles, and sentiments of the people. It lives in their industry, virtue, and public sentiment: Or rather it is produced, preserved, and kept alive, by the state of society. If the body of the people shall lose their property, their knowledge, and their virtue, their greatest and most valuable blessings are lost at the same time. With the loss of these, public sentiment will be corrupted: With the corruption of the public sentiment, bills of rights, constitutions written upon paper and all the volumes of written law, will lose their force, and utility. Their government will immediately begin to change: And when the people have themselves lost the cause, the principle, and the spir-
it

it of freedom, they will no longer be capable of a free government: They are better suited for the restraints of aristocracy, or what is far better, for the regulations of monarchy. The constitutions and the laws of such a people, will no more preserve their freedom, than the tombs and the coffins of Montesquieu and Franklin, will retain their abilities and virtues.

Ye people of the United States of America, behold here the precarious foundation upon which ye hold your liberties. They rest not upon things written upon paper, nor upon the virtues, the vices, or the designs of other men, but they depend upon yourselves; upon your maintaining your property, your knowledge, and your virtue. Nature and society have joined to produce, and to establish freedom in America. You are now in the full possession of all your natural and civil rights; under no restraints in acquiring knowledge, property, or the highest honours of your country; in the most rapid state of improvement, and population; with perfect freedom to make further improvements in your own condition. In this state of society, every thing is adapted to promote the prosperity, the importance, and the improvement of the body of the people.—But nothing is so established among men, but that it may change and vary. If you should lose that spirit of industry, of economy, of knowledge, and of virtue, which led you to independence and to empire, then, but not until then, will you lose your freedom: Preserve your virtues, and your freedom will be perpetual!

A P P E N D I X.

Nº. I.

An Account of the Variation of the magnetic Needle, in the eastern States. CHAP. I. p. 18.

IN laying out lands in America, the direction of the lines, is generally taken by the *magnetic needle*. The instruments which have been generally used, are the Plain Table, or the Circumferentor, divided into degrees, and fitted with a magnetic needle of three or four inches radius.—Had the greatest possible care been taken by able mathematicians, it would not have been possible for them, with such instruments, to have avoided many errors and mistakes. But in scarcely any instance has the variation of the needle been known, or at all attended to. Many, and almost endless controversies and lawsuits, have arisen from this cause. In many instances no data could be found, by which it was possible to come to a just decision; the variation of the magnetic needle, at the times when the contested lines were run, being unknown. On such accounts, the knowledge of the magnetic variations in the inland parts of America, is become a matter of great importance to the people; their interest and property in many cases, being much affected by it.

From the year 1302, the directive power of the magnet has been employed with great success, in the affairs of navigation. But the first account that we have of any observed variation in its direction, was by *Columbus*, in the year 1492, in his first voyage to America. Until that time, philosophers uniformly believed that the pole of the magnet, exactly coincided with the pole of the earth; and they had no idea of any such thing, as a variation. Amidst the uncommon scenes of difficulty which opposed the views, and exercised the genius of the discoverer of America, when he had advanced two hundred leagues west of the Canary Islands, his compass began to fail him; and it was found not to point to the pole of the earth, or exactly north, but one degree to the west of that point. From that time the variation began to be observed, and became more and more known. For the last century and an half, mathematicians have made it a regular part of their business to observe it, in different parts of the earth; with the *annual* alterations that are constantly taking place.

In the year 1723, a very accurate observer, *G. Graham*, of London, discovered that the magnetic needle had a *diurnal*, as well

as an annual variation. And it is now well known to philosophers that from about eight o'clock in the morning, the magnetic needle verges to the west, until about two o'clock in the afternoon. When it has attained its greatest westward variation, it gradually returns to the east, until about eight or nine o'clock in the evening; when it becomes stationary, until the next morning. — Tables expressive of this *diurnal* variation are become common; and are to be found in the transactions of all philosophical societies. Thus in the most regular state of the magnetic needle, it is constantly subject to two variations; an *annual*, and a *diurnal* one.

The effect of these variations are at all times such, that the magnetic needle can never give to the surveyor who follows its directions, a straight or an accurate line. And it ought not be used at all, where the business requires great accuracy and precision. It is however scarcely practicable in America, to substitute any thing better, in the room of it: Most of the lines which have been already run by surveyors, were run by the needle; this is much the most convenient instrument that can be carried, or used in the woods; the expense of running lines any other way, would be too great for individuals to bear; and the surveyors are not qualified to run them by the true meridian. For such reasons it is probable that the magnetic needle will still continue to be the instrument, by which the lines will be run, and the townships be laid out in America. — We must therefore endeavour to provide the best remedy we can, for an error or evil, which we cannot easily remove. The best remedy which the case admits of, is an accurate observation of the variation of the magnetic needle, at the time when divisional lines are run. This should be done by able mathematicians, and in as many places in a state, as may be. Such observations will afford the best direction, surveyors will be able to find, to enable them to determine what is the real or true direction of their magnetic lines — It is with this view, that the following Table is subjoined.

Magnetic Observations made in Canada, and the eastern States of America.

State.	Place.	Time.	Variation.	Observer.
Canada.	Quebec.	1649	16° 0' W	
		1686	15 30	Des Hayes
		1785	12 30	Holland.
	Three Rivers.	October 1793	12 5	Surv. genl.
	Montreal.	August 1785	9 30	of Canada.
Vermont.		1749	10 38	M. Gillion.
		1785	8 24	Holland.
	North line of Vermont, 20 miles east of Connec. river.	1785	7 40	Whitlaw, SG
	Burlington.	March 3, 1793	7 38	
	Rutland.	April 17, 1789	7 3	Dr. Wms.
N. Hamp. Maine.	Pownal.	Sept. 30, 1786	5 52	
	Penobscot fort,			
	Pownal.	July 18, 1761	8 0	Dr. Wintp.
	Falmouth.	1763	7 45	
	Kittery point.	1771	7 46	Holland.
Massachusetts.	Portsmouth.	1771	7 48	Holland.
	Hindsdale.	1772	6 0	Wright.
	Newburyport.	August 6, 1781	7 18	Dr. Willms.
	Beverly.	August 2, 1781	7 2	Dr. Willard.
	Cambridge.	1742	8 0	
R. Island.		1757	7 20	Dr. Wintp.
		1763	7 0	
		June 20, 1782	6 46	
		June 4, 1788	6 38	Dr. Wms.
	Wrentham, at Angle Tree.	April 7, 1785	5 46	Dr. Willms.
New York.	Northeast corner of Rhodeisland.	1741	7 30	Cms. f. r. t. l.
	Providence.	June, 1769	6 30	b. R. I. & Mas.
	Hartford, in Connecti.	Sept. 18, 1786	5 25	Dr. West.
	Northwest corner of the Oblong.	Sept. 25, 1786	5 3	Dr. Willms.
	New York.	1686	8 45	Wells, S. G.
		1724	7 20	Gov. Bumot.
		Sept. 18, 1750	6 23	Alexander.

No. II.

Observations on the Change of Climate in Europe, and other Places.

CHAP. IV. p. 65.

THE change of climate which has taken place in Northamerica, has been a matter of constant observation and experience. It seems to be the universal opinion of historians and philosophers, that there has been a more remarkable change of climate throughout all *Europe*. There are several phenomena from which it may be shown with much certainty, that this has been the case in several places.

In the land of *Palestine*, about the latitude of 30 or 31 degrees, north, the author of the book of Job makes use of such language as this, "Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow? Or hast thou seen the treasures of the hail?—Out of whose womb came the ice?—And the hoary frost of heaven, who hath generated it?—*The waters are hid as with a stone, and the face of the deep is frozen.*" Job xxxviii. 22. 29, 30. These are probably the words of Moses. And they are expressive of that degree of cold, in which the surface of water is so strongly frozen as to conceal its fluidity, and resemble the consistence and hardness of stone. The degree of heat in which this effect takes place in rivers, ponds, and large collections of water, I have generally found to be about 25 degrees of Farenheit's thermometer; with a duration of a week or ten days. We shall not therefore be far from the truth, if we conclude that the extremity of the cold in the land of *Midian*, could not have been less than 25 degrees, in the days of Moses: And that such a cold, was of some days duration. Such was the *degree*, and the *effect* of the cold in the land of the *Midianites*, about 32½ centuries ago.

In the writings of David we have also a description, of what was esteemed a severe season. "He giveth snow like wool: He scattereth the hoar frost like ashes. *He casteth forth his ice like morsels*: Who can stand before his cold?" Psalm cxlvii. 16, 17. This account must have been written at least 28½ centuries ago. The language of the poet does very strongly express the effect, which the cold had on the feelings of men in that warm climate. But the account which he gives of the appearance and form of the ice, denotes a less degree of cold than what took place in the days of Moses. When the degree of heat is but 31 degrees of Farenheit's thermometer, the ice may appear to be cast into the form of morsels and crystals: And this seems to have been the greatest degree of consistence, extent, and hardness, in which the poet had either seen it, or conceived of it.—It should seem therefore that from the time of Moses to David, the cold had abated in the land of *Palestine*: That four centuries before, it hid the waters as with a stone, and caused the face of the deep to be frozen;

frozen : But that now it only cast out the ice like morsels or crystals. The difference in the degree of cold necessary to produce these effects, is about 6 degrees.

We have here an account of the climate in the land of *Palestine*, so far back as 28 and 32 centuries. Instead of treasures of snow, hail, and ice, a frozen deep, and cold which can scarce be stood before, the inhabitants of that country now find a hot, sultry climate ; in which snow and ice are never seen. We have not an account of any meteorological observations made at the places, where Moses and David lived. The climate is probably much the same at those places, as it is in others of a similar latitude and situation. We may therefore make use of those which have been made at Grand Cairo, as the most applicable, and the best which we can find, to give us an idea of the temperature of the winter in those parts of the globe. Grand Cairo lies in the latitude of 30° north. According to Mr. Niebur's observations made there in the years 1761 and 1762, the mean heat of those years was $73^{\circ}.65$. The mean heat in the month of January was 57° ; that of February was $63^{\circ}.*$ It is but seldom that the mean heat of the severest week in the winter, falls more than 7 or 8 degrees below the mean temperature of the whole month. This will give 49 degrees, as the mean temperature of the severest week, in the winter at Grand Cairo. And this cannot be greatly different from the temperature of the winter, in the land of *Palestine*. From this way of computation, we shall have 24 degrees of Farenheit's thermometer, as the alteration which has taken place in the severity of the winters in that country, since the time of Moses.

The climate in *Italy* is also found to be very different now, from what it was 18 centuries ago. Virgil, the celebrated poet, was distinguished also by his knowledge in agriculture. In his georgics he is frequently giving advice for the security of cattle, against the dangerous effects of ice and snow. His directions were designed for the country round Mantua or Naples, his native place, in the latitude of 41° . Mentioning Calabria the most southern part of Italy, he speaks of the freezing of the rivers, as an event that was commonly to be expected. Pliny, Juvenal, and Ælian, writers in the first and second centuries, speak of ice and snow as what was common in Italy. One of these writers, Ælian, has a chapter which consists altogether of instructions how to fish for eels, when the water is covered with ice.—The degree of cold necessary to effect this, cannot be estimated at a less degree than 25. From the meteorological observations which were made at Rome in the years 1782 and 1783, it appears that the mean heat in the month of January at that place, is now 46 degrees ; and that the mean heat of the coldest week in the winter

was

* Voyage, Vol. I.

was 42 degrees ; * 17 degrees greater than that, in which the permanent freezing of rivers takes place. The change of climate therefore in Italy during the last 18 centuries, cannot have been less than 17 degrees ; but from the inaccuracy of the ancient accounts it may have been many more.

A similar change has taken place in the country round *Constantinople*, and the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. This we collect from the works of *Ovid*. This celebrated poet was banished to *Tomos*, by the Roman emperor. This place is in the latitude of 44° ; and lies near the coast of the *Euxine* sea. The poet spent seven years in his banishment at this place, about the middle of the first century. He informs us that he saw the *Euxine* sea covered with ice : That he walked upon this ice ; and that oxen and carriages passed over it. He goes farther, and adds, that when he called for wine in a severe season, it was presented to him in a state of congelation : And that the snow in many places, was never dissolved during the summer season. *Tournefort* observes that in the days of *Constantine*, the strait of *Byzantium* was frozen over : And that in the year 401, the *Euxine* sea was covered with ice for 20 days together. — We have not any meteorological observations to state with exactness, what the present temperature of that climate is. But nothing would be more uncommon and extraordinary, than to see this sea frozen over now. In 1667, the Turks were greatly astonished at the appearance of some ice at *Constantinople* : And in all the adjacent country, instead of a frozen sea, frozen wine, and perpetual snow, they have now a fine moderate warm climate ; one of the most luxuriant, and delightful, that is to be found upon the face of the earth. So far as we can judge from the general phenomena, the change of the climate there, has been fully equal to what has taken place in Italy.

The same alteration has been observed upon the *Alps* and *Appenines*. These are the highest mountains in Europe, and divide Italy from France, Switzerland, and Germany. The march of *Hannibal's* army over these mountains, was one of the most memorable exploits of antiquity. In their accounts of it, *Livy* and *Polybius* in almost every line, are mentioning the extreme difficulty and sufferings which arose from the severe frosts, ice, and snow. These mountains are easily passed now. Armies have frequently crossed them without any uncommon sufferings, from the time of *Francis the first*.†

The change of climate has been also very remarkable in *Germany*. Two circumstances have marked this with certainty. By the account of *Diodorus Siculus* : 1. “ The great rivers

* *Ephem. Soc. Meteor. Palat. Observationes Romanæ*, Tom. II & III, † *Phil. Transf. Vol. LVIII*, for 1769, p. 58, &c.

ers which covered the Roman provinces, the Rhine and the Danube, were frequently frozen over, and capable of supporting the most enormous weights. The barbarians who often chose that severe season for their inroads, transported without apprehension or danger, their numerous armies, their cavalry, and their heavy waggons over a vast and solid bridge of ice. Modern ages have not presented an instance of a like phenomenon. 2. The reindeer, that useful animal, from whom the savage of the north derives the best comfort of his dreary life, is of a constitution that supports and even requires the most intense cold. He is found on the rock of Spitzberg, within ten degrees of the pole; he seems to delight in the snows of Lapland and Siberia. But at present he cannot subsist, much less multiply in any country to the south of the Baltic. In the time of Cæsar, the reindeer, as well as the elk, and the wild bull, was a native of the Hercynian forest, which then overshadowed a great part of Germany and Poland.”*

These accounts will assist us to form some general idea of the climate of Germany at that time. The freezing of the Rhine and the Danube is mentioned, as an event that was annually to be expected; what the barbarians always found to take place in the severe season; and to such a degree, as to afford them a certain and a safe passage for the heaviest burdens, and for the largest armies. This account of the strength, firmness, and duration of the ice, conveys the idea of a winter equal in all its effects, to that which takes place in the uncultivated parts of Northamerica. The rivers are here constantly frozen every winter. The inhabitants find by constant experience, that at that season of the year they can transport their heaviest effects, and the greatest weights, with safety, certainty, and convenience.—The mean heat of our winters in such places, is from 15 to 20 degrees. In such a cold, the rivers and streams will be so constantly and steadily frozen, that the inhabitants find a certain and a safe passage every winter, over the rivers and lakes. This seems to have been very much the state of the ancient German winter. From the observations which were made at Vienna, latitude 48°—12' north, in the years 1779 and 1780, it appears that the mean heat there in the month of January was 27°,5; in February it was 33°,23. At Ratisbon, latitude 48°—56' north, in the years 1781 and 1782, the mean heat in the month of January was found to be 30°,52; that of February was 30°,76. At Mannheim, latitude 49°—27' north, in the years 1781 and 1782, the mean heat in the month of January was 35°,08; in February it was 35°,8.† The mean of these, 31°,3 in January, and

* Gibbon's Roman History, Vol. I, p. 346.

† Ephem. Soc. Meteor. Palat. Tom. I, II, III, &c.

and $33^{\circ},26$ in February, will accurately express the present temperature of the German winter upon the Danube and the Rhine.—The time when the barbarians began their inroads into the Roman provinces was about the year 222. According to this computation, the change of climate in Germany has been between 11 and 16 degrees, in $15\frac{1}{2}$ centuries.

The other instance mentioned by the historian, and which serves to mark the climate in Germany in the time of Cæsar, was the appearance of the reindeer. The warmest countries in which he now resides, are Sweden, Russia, and Lapland. From the observations made at Abo, latitude $60^{\circ}-27'$ north, from the year 1750 to 1761 the mean heat in the month of January, was found to be $19^{\circ},58$; that of February was $21^{\circ},38$. At Petersburg, latitude $59^{\circ}-56'$ north, from the year 1762 to 1777, the mean heat in January, was 10° ; in February, the mean heat was $16^{\circ},46$. The mean of these $14^{\circ},8$ in January, and $18^{\circ},9$ in February is the temperature of the winter in that part of the globe.* These are the warmest climates in which the reindeer does now subsist. It may therefore with much probability be inferred, that this was the temperature of the German winter in the days of Cæsar, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ centuries ago. Hence the alteration of climate in Germany during that space of time, has been about 16 degrees. It seems to be a confirmation of the truth and propriety of these different methods of computation, that they both afford much the same result.

From these accounts it appears with a decisive evidence, that the climate, in the course of several centuries, has remarkably changed at Palestine, in Italy, around the Euxine sea, at the Alps, and throughout all Germany. Through all this vast extent of country, the climate is now become 16 or 17 degrees warmer than it was 18 centuries ago. The continent of America in similar latitudes, is still subject to a great degree of cold. If the meteorological observations which have been made at Williamsburg, Cambridge, Quebec, and Hudson's Bay in America, be compared with those which have been made at Algiers, Rome, Poitiers, and Solyskamski, places whose latitudes are nearly equal;† it will be found that the European continent is now 12 degrees warmer than that of America. Many inquiries and speculations have been proposed to account for this extreme cold of America. From the accounts which have been mentioned, it appears that 17 or 18 centuries ago, the continent of Europe instead of being

* Kirwan's estimate.

	M. H.		M. H.
† Algiers lat. $36^{\circ}-49'$	72°	Poitiers lat. $46^{\circ}-59'$	$53^{\circ},8$
Rome $41^{\circ}-54'$	59°	Solyskamski. 59°	$32^{\circ},59$

12 degrees warmer, was subject to a cold 4 or 5 degrees greater, than that which now takes place on the continent of America. The proper inquiries therefore seem to be, Whence is it that the European continent is become so much more mild and temperate than that of America?—Whether the latter will not in a course of time become equally warm and temperate as the former?—Whether the climates of both will not gradually become more equal, uniform, and moderate, than they now are?—And, Whether cultivation is sufficient to account for these changes? For whatever the cause may be, the fact seems to be certain, the heat of all that part of the earth, of which we have any ancient accounts, has been increasing from the earliest ages.

No. III.

A Dissertation on the Colours of Men, particularly on that of the Indians of America. CHAP. VIII. p. 197.

COLOURS OF MEN. ONE of the most curious phenomena that belongs to the natural history of man, is the colour with which he is marked. Every object, which we behold, appears to be of some particular colour. In animals these colours are extremely various, different, and beautiful; and sometimes they appear to be variable. Man, like other animals, is distinguished both by a peculiarity, and by a variety of colour. In Europe, he appears white: In Africa, he is black: In America, his colour is red: In Asia, a variety of colours are to be found upon the human countenance. There are other shades and tinctures to be found in each quarter of the globe, besides those mentioned above: But those that have been mentioned are the most general and prevalent colours, under which man appears, in the four general divisions of the globe.

VARIETY OF COLOURS.—The most distinguishing, permanent, and general colours of the human species, and which are at the greatest extremes from each other, are black and white. Between these, or rather as different degrees and variations of them, are all the other colours of the human countenance: And they may be reduced to swarthy, red, copper, and brown.—*Black* is the colour of the Africans under the equator; of the inhabitants of Newguinea, and Newholland. A *swarthy* colour includes the Moors in the northern parts of Africa, and the Hottentots in the southern parts of it. *Red* distinguishes the Indians of Northamerica. The same, or perhaps more accurately a *copper* colour denotes the complexion of the *Indians* of Asia. *Brown* comprehends the Tartars, Per-

flans, Arabs, Africans on the coast of the Mediterranean, and the Chinese. The inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, are also chiefly of this colour. Under this colour is comprehended all those different shades, which are denoted by olive, chesnut, and deep yellow. A less dark colour, or *brownish*, will best express the complexion of the inhabitants in the southern parts of Europe: The Sicillians, Abyssinians, Spaniards, Turks; and also the Samoiedes, and Laplanders. *White* is the colour of most of the European nations; as Swedes, Russians, Danes, English, Germans, Poles, &c. Kabbardinski, and Georgians. It is observable that all these colours are included between the two extremes; or rather they are different degrees or variations of black and white.

CHANGE OF COLOUR.—A change of colour is always produced by the marriage or mixture of persons of different complexions. Thus the offspring of the European and the negro, is of a yellow complexion; less white than the European, and less black than the negro; or rather of a dark cream colour. This race are numerous in some parts of America, and are called *Mulattoes*. The offspring of an European and an Indian is also of a cream colour; and more light than the mulattoe. These are called among the Spaniards *Mestigos*. The effect and operation of this change of the original colour, in the climate of America, is always in favour of the fairer complexion; and never approaches towards, or ends in the darker colour.—This change and alteration of colour, when it is left to its natural tendency and effect, is extremely slow and moderate in its operation; and it is not until after many years, that the full effect is produced. In the Spanish settlements, this mixed race has so multiplied as to form a considerable part of the inhabitants: And the several stages of variation in this race, with the gradual alteration of shade until it ends in the European complexion, have been well ascertained, and are now perfectly well understood. Those of the first generation are considered, and treated as negroes or Indians. In the third generation the Indian colour disappears. It is not until the fifth descent that the deeper black of the negro is lost. At the end of these different periods, the offspring can no longer be distinguished from the European; but is considered as such, and entitled to all their privileges.*—In this change of colour, produced by the most powerful of all natural causes, the mixture of persons of different complexions; so gradual and slow is the operation, that the black must be subject to five divisions, and the operation must be continued through five generations, before the colour is completely changed.

SEAT

* Voyage de Ulloa, I. 27. Robertson's Hist. Amer. II, 352.

SEAT OF COLOUR.—That the different colours of the human species are seated in the skin is very apparent. The skin consists of three folds or coverings. The first is a very fine and transparent integument, and is white in people of all colours. The second is a cellular membrane, differently coloured in different persons. The third is also white. It is in the second of these, that the colour is seated. In black people, a very able anatomist* observes that the skin is much thicker and larger, than in white ones; the cellular membrane in the latter being a thin mucus, but in the former a thick membrane. In whites this seat of the colour is transparent, and either totally deprived of vessels, or only furnished with a very few; as the yellow colour appearing in jaundice vanishes on the cause of the disease being removed, which is not the case with stains from gunpowder, or similar causes.—Hence, he observes, three causes may be very readily assigned, which will operate to destroy the pelucidity of the skin, and give it a brown colour, and render it thicker. These are the heat of the sun, the access of air, and nastiness. And in general any thing that operates to produce or to destroy the pelucidity of the skin, will tend to vary and change the colour of the human body.

COLOUR CONNECTED WITH CLIMATE.—Among the causes which may affect the colour of the human body, it has been generally supposed that the influence of heat or climate, has a considerable effect. Concerning this influence or connexion between colour and climate, the following observations may be made.

1. Different colours are best suited to different climates. In all the plants and animals which are spread over the face of the earth, there is something by which they are peculiarly fitted to the climate and country, in which they are placed. One kind of vegetable requires a great degree of heat: Another flourishes the best in a temperate and cold country. It is the same with animals. Some are fitted for the heat of the torrid zone. Others require the severe cold of the frigid zone, to give them their greatest perfection. To all these animals, nature has given the proper clothing; which admits of no other variation than what the seasons of the year require.—Man is an animal made for every climate? Instead of being formed for the torrid or frigid zone, he can live, multiply, and arrive to his proper perfection, in any climate: And it is left to his own reason and industry to provide himself with such clothing, as his condition may require, in every climate through which he may pass; or in which he may sojourn. And yet there is something in different men, which
qualifies

* Doctor Hunter,

qualifies and fits them for one climate, better than for another; and that is, colour.—The man whose colour is black, is better suited to the extreme heat of the hottest climate, than any other of the human race. This has been long known and observed in the climates of America. The negroes of the West India islands, in the Spanish dominions, and in the states of Georgia, and South Carolina, are found to bear the extreme heat of the summer better than the white people. On the contrary, the negroes in the northern states of America are more tender than the white people, less able to bear the severity of our winters, and more apt to complain, suffer, and freeze with the cold.—The white men are the reverse of this. They bear the severe winters of Canada, and Russia, without much difficulty or suffering: But in an hot climate they become sickly, and fail sooner than the negroes. Several colonies of white people have subsisted in the torrid zone in America, more than two centuries: And yet they cannot bear the heat, like the original inhabitants, or like the negroes. The one is apparently best suited to a cold, and the other to a hot climate. And these differences are as apparently owing to their colour, for they do not appear to be connected with any other cause, or circumstance. Different colours therefore in the human species, are certainly best adapted, fitted and suited, to different climates.

2. There is a tendency in climate to produce the colour which it requires. Animal heat is derived but little from the sun, or from the atmosphere; but chiefly and mainly from original constitution. The design of covering and clothing, is to detain and preserve the heat of the animal body, in its natural situation, degree, and quantity; and to prevent an extreme waste or dispersion of it. Black readily receives and absorbs the heat of the animal body; and in this way, tends to exhaust and disperse it. White reflects and repels the rays of light and heat more than any other colour, and thus prevents and opposes their passage; and in this way, tends to preserve and detain the constitutional heat of the animal body. Hence the covering, which nature has assigned to the earth in cold climates, is snow: By its colour it becomes best of all adapted to prevent the heat from flowing out of the earth into the atmosphere. And hence the covering of most animals in the severest season, and country, is generally white; the colour which most of all preserves the heat of the animal body, and prevents its flowing out. In conformity to the same law of nature, many animals change their colour at the approach of winter; and from black, brown, or grey, become white. This is the case with the rabbits, foxes, and bears, &c. at Hudson's bay, Russia, and Siberia. From the darker colours which they bear in summer, they turn white at the approach of winter; and remain so, until the return of spring.

In such cases, climate appears to have a powerful and a sudden operation, to produce the colours it requires.

The change of colour in man, is more slow and gradual : It is however certain and apparent. The white men who are much exposed to the heat and rays of the sun, and to the influence of the wind, in hot seasons lose their whiteness, and become brown or red. The inhabitants of Europe when they settle in New Spain or in the West India islands, soon lose their whiteness, and become of a brownish yellow. The Europeans who reside long in the East Indies, become of the same cream coloured complexion. We have an accurate account of the effect produced by climate in South America, by Dr. Mitchell : " The Spaniards who have inhabited America under the torrid zone for any considerable time, are become as dark coloured as our native Indians of Virginia, of which I myself have been a witness."* An account from Africa, is equally authentic and accurate, " There are several other small Portuguese settlements, and one of some note at Mitomba, a river in Sienna Leon. The people here called *Portuguese*, are principally persons bred from a mixture of the first Portuguese discoverers with the natives, and now become, in their complexion, and woolly quality of their hair, perfect negroes, retaining however, a smattering of the Portuguese language."† Here the operation of mixture by marriage, is determined by climate in favour of the African colour. There are similar accounts of the complexion of the Portuguese, who settled at Senegal in 1400 ; and of those who are settled on the coast of Congo. The varying complexion of the Jews is also very remarkable. Descended from one stock, their religion has prevented their marrying with other people. In Britain and Germany, they are white. In France and Turkey, they are brown. In Spain and Portugal, their colour is swarthy. In Syria and Chaldea, the olive colour prevails : In Arabia and Egypt they are of a tawny or copper colour.‡ Among every nation they seem to partake of the colour of the climate. And one of them, Tudela, relates that his countrymen in Abyssinia, have acquired the dark complexion of the original natives.

It is observable that all these changes, are from a light, to a more dark complexion. Similar changes have not been observed in the negroes, that have been brought into the temperate climates of America. It should seem therefore that the transition is easier from white to black, than from black to white ; or that the negro colour is the most deeply impressed of any ; or that heat has a much more sudden and powerful effect than cold. It ought however to be observed that it is only in white and fair complexions,

* Phil. Trans. No. 476.

† Account of the trade of Great Britain to Africa, by an African merchant.

‡ Buffon Nat. Hist. Vol. III.

complexions, that these changes of colour would soon become visible, or apparent to common observation. In a dark or black countenance, small and gradual variations of shade would not be observed. It would not be until the negro had lost much of his former colour, that the change would be generally noticed.—But I much suspect that there is something more curious in this subject, than has been imagined: That some of the colours of the human countenance, are in their own nature, colours which are less changeable than others. It seems to be universally the case, that the black produced by scorching, or by an intense heat, is the most durable of any colour whatever: And that white is more soon and easily sullied, and changed, than any of the other colours, with which any object is marked.

3. It seems to be a confirmation of these remarks, that the colours of men in different climates, are in fact such, as those climates seem to require. Under the equator the darkest shade, perfect black takes place. The negro of Africa is placed in the most intense heat, that takes place on this globe; and the colour of the negro is the deepest and darkest black, that any where appears on the human countenance. Advancing from the equator towards the pole, the colour of the human species acquires a complexion more and more light; until having passed through all the intermediate gradations of shade, it terminates in the whiteness of a temperate and cold climate.—There are indeed variations and exceptions from this, and from every other general law of nature. Intermixtures of different nations, migration, differences in food, disease, cleanliness, health, and many other local circumstances and causes, will produce these. As such variations are not agreeable to any general law of nature, they are neither evidences of, or objections to such laws; but derive their origin from local and particular causes.—But it is impossible not to discern the general regularity, tendency, and effect of the laws of nature, respecting climate and colour. The most intense black, is the general colour of man in the hottest part of the globe. Where the heat is considerably abated, the black abates too, and the colour becomes swarthy. To this succeeds the red or copper colour of the east and west Indians; suited to that part of Asia, where the Indians have been long fixed and permanently settled. The next gradation is brown, comprehending the olive, and dark yellow. A lighter shade, or a brown approaching nearer to white, distinguisheth a climate still more temperate. The whole terminates in the coldness, and in the whiteness of the European and northern nations; beyond which nature has not proceeded. And where a country is of great extent, as India, and China, the colour of the same people is dark in the southern, and more fair in the northern parts. Whatever particular exceptions and variations may be found, the general law of nature respecting colour,

colour, is marked with as much regularity, uniformity, design, and order, as any other law of nature, which applies to the vegetable or animal world.

4. This operation and effect of climate must be extremely gradual and slow. Whatever those causes are which have served to form and fix the colours of men, they are causes which have been in operation, from the beginning of the creation of God. If there were any differences in the natural constitutions of men, so as to form what has been called different races, those differences must have been original; and therefore as ancient as those supposed races of men. If the effect has been produced by climate, this cause must have been operating upon nations, ever since their residence became fixed in any particular part of the earth. The same remark will apply to any other supposed cause. Be it what it may, upon every nation whose residence has been fixed, it must have been operating ever since their situation became established. With regard then to all those nations which have long resided in the same part of the globe, their colours must be viewed as the effect of causes, which have been in operation either from the beginning of the creation, or from the time when they began to reside in their present situations, or countries.—What then ought to be expected, if any race of men whose colour was already formed, should be removed to a country, where the tendency of climate was to reverse the former effects, and change the colour which had been long fixed?—Could it be expected that the power of climate to change a colour long formed and fixed, could be exerted in less time than it had required to produce and to establish it?—Would it require less time to remove an established colour, and to produce a new one, than it did to produce and fix the first? So far as we can derive any information from the ordinary course of nature, we cannot conceive that the colour of the negro, could be changed into that of the white man, in a less period of time, than it had taken, to produce and establish that colour at first. It is much more probable, that a longer period of time would be necessary to eradicate the first, and produce the second, than was requisite to form the complexion at first.—Those then that mean to inquire carefully into the operations and effects of nature, must put on the patience of the antiquarian, and learn to compute time with the astronomers. The impatience of many leads them to expect that climate should undo that in three or four generations, which nature has been constantly at work to effect, from her first origin until now.

I will venture to propose a conjectural estimation, not because I think it approaches very near to certainty or decision, but because I cannot find any thing upon the subject, that has a greater appearance of probability. The most powerful of all the causes, which have been found to change the complexion of man, is that of mixture by marriage. In the negro colour, this requires five generations,

generations, and five divisions, before the African blackness is lost in the European whiteness : In the less dark complexion of the Indian, it requires three generations, and three divisions, to produce the same effect. The time of one of these generations may be estimated at about twenty five years. The time then which nature requires to effect the change of colour from this cause, would be one hundred and twenty five years, for the negro. A thirty second part of the whole colour, upon this supposition, is done away by some other cause, say that of climate. If the whole effect had been produced by climate, and in this proportion, the time necessary to have completed the effect would have been four thousand years. By the same method of conjectural estimation, the time necessary to reduce the Indian to the European colour, would be six hundred years.—The difficulty and uncertainty attending this method of forming an estimate, is not that it can give the period of time too long, but that it assumes what cannot be ascertained by observation. It is not, and probably cannot be made certain by observation, that a thirty second part of the negro colour is done away by climate, or that it is done away at all, when the negro complexion is supposed to be completely changed. It is not probable that if a thirty second part of the dark colour remained, it could be readily distinguished by the eye.—But uncertain as the data are, they are sufficient to show that the operation of climate, in any view in which the matter can be considered, is extremely gradual and slow. But

5. This influence of climate, whatever it is, may be increased, or it may be retarded, by the operation of other causes. The colour of the skin may be affected and changed by other causes, as well as by heat and cold. If there be any thing in the common method of living, in being constantly exposed to the sun and wind, in the use of paint and oil, or in an habitual cleanliness or filthiness, that tends to darken, or to render the complexion more fair; this, may operate either with or against the influence of climate, according as the nature and tendency of such custom or practice may be. And we ought not to ascribe that to, or make that any objection to the influence of climate, which may be derived from other causes. Thus in Greenland, the influence of climate is in favour of a fair and white complexion. But in the constant application of grease, oil, and filthiness, to the human body, there is another and a more powerful cause to effect its colour, than climate; and which, acting in constant opposition to it, gives to the countenance a fallow or dirty olive complexion. Such causes may act with a force and power, equal or superiour to that of climate; but they are not equally permanent, universal, or invariable.—There is no error more common, or more apt to deceive us in contemplating the natural history of man, than to ascribe that to one cause, which is derived from or produced

produced by the joint operation of many. Whatever tends to render the skin more or less transparent, will affect the colour of the human species, as certainly as the climate in which they are placed.

COLOUR AND CLIMATE OF THE INDIANS OF AMERICA.—There is no subject in philosophy so well understood, but that a number of questions and inquiries may be proposed respecting it, which do not admit of a satisfactory or complete answer. And this will always remain to be the case, because our knowledge of nature will never be equal or commensurate to the subject. But there is one inquiry arising here, which demands our careful attention: How does the climate and the colour of the Indians of America agree with this, or with any other supposed law of climate? The Indians were spread over the whole continent of America: They dwelt in every habitable climate from the equator to the pole: And they were of the same colour in every place. In the greatest heat under the equator, and in the severest climates of Canada and Hudson's bay, they were of the same brownish red.* This appears to be the proper Indian colour in every part and climate of America. Are the climates of America different from those of the other continent? Or whence is it that the connexion which takes place between climates and colour in the other parts of the globe, is not to be found among the Indians?—This curious phenomenon has occasioned much inquiry and speculation: Can the causes of it be found, in the observations which have been already mentioned?

1. The Indian colour is very evidently the mixture of black and red. The colour, which an intense heat produces, upon all bodies to which it is applied, is *black*: And it is as natural

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* It has been customary to write in this language, but we are far from being certain that it is either accurate, or proper. It has been taken for granted, but it has never been examined, whether the Indian colour is the same in every part of America. An accurate and inquisitive observer, M. de le Pinto, who commanded for several years at Matagrossa, a Portuguese settlement in the interior parts of Brasil, where the Indians are numerous, and not altered by their intercourse with the Europeans, noted a difference in their complexions: "They are all of a copper colour, with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory which they inhabit. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands on the coast."—Robertson's Hist. Amer. l. 460.—On the northwest part of the American continent, it has been found, that "the complexion of the Indians is lighter than that of the southern Indians, and some of their women have rosy cheeks."—Morse's Geog. l. 99. 105. Edit. 1793.—Of the Indians of Paraguay we have this account; "They are generally of an olive complexion, some darker, others lighter, and some as white as the Spaniards."—Ibid, p. 81.

to expect it should have this effect upon the human body, as upon any other bodies. The colour which is produced upon the human body, by living much in the open air, exposed to the influence of the sun and wind, is *red*. The white men who live in such a situation, always contract this colour. That part of their bodies, which is exposed to the influence of the sun and wind, becomes of a reddish colour ; or as it is commonly expressed, they become tanned, or sun burnt ; that is, they acquire a colour formed by a mixture of red and white.—This influence of the wind and sun, in producing the red complexion, is found to be much the same in summer and winter : The white man is nearly as much, and as soon tanned, in the winter as in the summer. It seems therefore that the production of this red colour, does not depend upon climate, heat, or cold, but upon *habit* ; the habit of living in the open air, and having the body exposed to the constant influence of the sun and wind.—The Indian colour then seems to have been formed by the mixture of two different colours, black and red ; and to have been derived from two powerful causes, *climate* and *habit* : Causes distinct from one another, and the latter producing nearly the same effect in every climate.

2. This colour of the Indians was probably completely formed, when they first came into America. They were of the same colour as the Indians, and southern Tartars in Asia ; and appear to have been descended from them. Their colour therefore was completely formed and fixed, before they came into America. This colour seems to have been derived from the warm climate of Asia ; and from the habit of living constantly exposed to the sun, and to the open air. The colour thus formed and fixed, they would naturally convey to their offspring. And as there were no other people with whom they could have any intercourse, there could be no change or alteration of colour, produced by a mixture of parents of different complexions. Their colour therefore must have been settled, and uniform : And the whole effect of population must have been to spread, propagate, and preserve it. The effect of climate then upon the Indian in America, would not be to produce and form his colour ; but either to preserve, or to change it.

3. No part of the climate of America was sufficiently hot, to change it into an intense black. It is only in the most intense heat of the hottest climate, that the extreme black of the negro is formed. The climate of America under the line falls far short of this. “ While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually shaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercept the fierce beams of the sun.”

* Robertson's Hist. Ameri. I. 253.

The climate in every part of the torrid zone in America, is much more mild and temperate than the same latitude in Africa, or Asia. In a country where the hottest climate is so moderate, it is not to be expected that the Indian colour should be changed into extreme black. No part of the climate was hot enough to produce this : And any small variation in the Indian countenance, would not be readily or easily discerned.

4. The change of colour most naturally to be expected would be of the contrary kind, not to black, but to white ; at least to a lighter shade than what took place under the equator. If there be any influence or tendency in extreme cold to produce a fair and white complexion, this might have been expected ; for there are no colder climates upon the face of the earth, than those of the northern parts of America.—But whatever might be the influence of the climate to produce such a complexion, the Indians made use of several certain and constant methods to prevent it. One, was their constant habit of living and wandering about in the woods, exposed to the full force of the winds and sun : Another, was their extreme and perpetual filth, and dirtiness : A third, was their habitual use of grease and paint. It was their universal custom to anoint and rub their bodies with the grease and oil of the bear, beaver, muskrat, and other animals ; and to mix the grease with different kinds of paints, and gums. This practice was probably designed to protect the body against the extreme variations of heat, cold, and moisture, to which they were constantly exposed. Nor could they have provided any better defence against heat, cold, rain, and insects, than thus to cover their bodies with a glutinous kind of varnish. And in doing this, they took a sure and a certain method, to fix and preserve their colour from any approaches to a white, or to a fair complexion. When extreme dirtiness was added to the grease, oil, and paint, neither climate or any other cause could produce a fair complexion, until these were removed and disused. Thus in the Indian customs, and method of guarding his body against the effects of climate, the Indian himself was taking constant care that nothing should change the colour of his skin, or make it more transparent. But

5. Where these customs have been disused, the Indian colour has been found to be changeable. It has never been decided whether the Indian colour is exactly the same in every part of America. No accurate comparisons have ever been made between the colour of the Indians in the hottest parts under the equator, and those in the remote regions of Canada and Hudson's bay. Their colours have never been compared to any accurate and known standard ; and small variations in a dark complexion, would not be a matter of common observation.—But whether the Indian colour be the same in every part of America, or not, it is certainly more changeable, and not so deeply fixed, as that of
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the negro. Many families of the Indian tribes are to be found in several of our towns. Some of these are at Capecod, and Rhodeisland: A considerable number of them, are at Natic, and Stockbridge, in Massachusetts. Their habits and manners of life are different from those of the Indians, who reside in the forests. They live in houses, have a fixed place of residence, and have much disused the custom of paints and oils; and their complexion differs much from that of the tribes who yet remain in their ancient and original state. The reddish cast is abated. The tawny aspect appears more dull, pale, and clouded. The crimson mixture has disappeared, and they have approximated much nearer to the colour of the hunter among the whites, than the tribes who retain their ancient customs and habits. This change of colour in the Indians who have lived long among the whites, is apparent to common observation. And it is apparently derived from the change in their manners, customs, and habits. This change of the Indian complexion, clearly shows what has been the effect of custom, and habit.

6. In the northern parts of America, there are permanent phenomena, which will serve also to show what has been the effect of climate. The Esquimaux in the northern parts of America, are a people remarkably different from the Indians, which occupy the other parts of the continent. There is not much room to doubt, but that they were derived from the northwest parts of Europe; are the same people with the Greenlanders, Laplanders, Zemblans, and Samojeds; and like them, were descended from the Tartars in the east. Their descent then was probably from the same nation as the Indians. But while the Indian tribes have by custom, preserved their red complexion, the Esquimaux have acquired a fallow olive, or brownish colour; more inclining to the European whiteness, than to the brownish red of the American.—To what cause can we ascribe the lighter colour of this branch of the Tartar race, but to their more northerly and frozen situation? They have adopted the same customs and habits, as the Indians. They rub and anoint their bodies, with grease, the fat of the seal, and train oil; and are as filthy as the Indians. Not only so, but they drink the fat of the seal, and their train oil, and esteem it the most pleasant liquor. Can it be doubted, what must be the effect upon their colour? It operates against the influence of climate, in that part of the earth where climate operates most powerfully to produce a white complexion. The influence of the two causes is divided, but the ballance is in favour of climate, and the European complexion. Thus in two very extensive and numerous kinds of men, derived from the same nation, climate, custom, and habit, in one part of America, have produced or preserved the dark crimson of the Indian; but in the most northerly and frozen parts of the continent, the same causes have established the fallow olive colour of

of the Esquimaux, more resembling the European whiteness, than the Indian red. Upon a careful attention then, to the colours and customs of the original inhabitants of America, the phenomena seem to confirm the general connexion which has taken place between climate and colour, in the various parts of the other hemisphere.

This part of the natural history of man, seems to be but very imperfectly understood. The great difficulty that attends it, is the want of ancient and accurate accounts. It does indeed seem to be pretty well determined, that the colour of the white man is easily, and soon changed, to a dark complexion; And that the colour of the Indian is changeable, into a lighter complexion. But no relations which I have seen afford the same information, respecting the change of the African black. Nor can I find any phenomena or accounts which serve to ascertain the matter, and put it out of all doubt, whether there has been any change in the colour of the negroes, which have been brought into any part of America. Nor is it certain that any such apparent alteration of the negro colour, ought upon any hypothesis to have been expected, in the course of four or five generations. And yet, until some of these facts shall be ascertained, we can hardly expect that the laws of nature which apply to this subject, will be understood.—Impatient of the fatigue of inquiry, collecting and comparing phenomena, some philosophers, with great precipitation, have pretended to decide it by system. To solve all difficulties it has been declared by some, that there are different creations; and races of men: That the white man is one kind, the negro another, and the Indian a third, &c.—The business of making systems for nature, has seldom answered any other purpose, than to discover the presumption of those, who have made them. It has proved so in this case. If there had been as many local creations as there are individuals, this would not afford us any information, or enable us to advance one step, towards a solution of the problem respecting the colours of different men. Still the inquiries would remain, What is the seat of colour in these different men? Why do the rays of light appear of such different colours, upon the skins of the one, and the other? Why does one colour appear most common in an hot, and another colour prevail the most in a cold climate? And how is the change of colour produced by marriage and mixture?—Instead of amusing ourselves with theories that are attended with no evidence, and can be of no use, what is wanted in this subject, is careful and accurate observations. These will indeed require a long course of time, and abilities very different from those, which decide by metaphysical disputes and speculations. But it is the only method, in which we have any reason to expect our knowledge of this subject will be promoted.

No. IV.

The Declaration and Petition of the Inhabitants of the Newhampshire Grants to Congress, announcing the District to be a Free and Independent State. CHAP. IX. p. 233.

To the Honourable the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

THE declaration and petition of that part of Northamerica, situate south of Canada line, west of Connecticut river, north of the Massachusetts bay, and east of a twenty mile line from Hudson's river, containing about one hundred and forty four townships, of the contents of six miles square, each granted your petitioners by the authority of Newhampshire, besides several grants made by the authority of Newyork, and a quantity of vacant land, humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners, by virtue of several grants made them by the authority aforesaid, have many years since, with their families, become actual settlers and inhabitants of the said described premises; by which it is now become a respectable frontier to three neighbouring states, and is of great importance to our common barrier Ticonderoga; as it has furnished the army there with much provisions, and can muster more than five thousand hardy soldiers, capable of bearing arms in defence of American liberty:

That shortly after your petitioners began their settlements, a party of land jobbers in the city and state of Newyork, began to claim the lands, and took measures to have them declared to be within that jurisdiction:

That on the fourth day of July, 1764, the king of Greatbritain did pass an order in council, extending the jurisdiction of Newyork government to Connecticut river, in consequence of a representation made by the late Lieutenantgovernor Colden, that for the convenience of trade, and administration of justice, the inhabitants were desirous of being annexed to that state:

That on this alteration of jurisdiction, the said Lieutenantgovernor Colden did grant several tracts of land in the above described limits, to certain persons living in the state of Newyork, which were at that time in the actual possession of your petitioners; and under colour of the lawful authority of said state, did proceed against your petitioners, as lawless intruders upon the crown lands in their province. This produced an application to the king of Greatbritain from your petitioners, setting forth their claims under the government of Newhampshire, and the disturbance and interruption they had suffered from said post claimants, under Newyork. And on the 24th day of July, 1767, an order was passed at St James's, prohibiting the governors of Newyork, for the time being

being, from granting any part of the described premises, on pain of incurring his highest displeasure. Nevertheless the same Lieutenantgovernor Colden, Governors Dunmore and Tryon, have each and every of them, in their respective turns of administration, presumed to violate the said royal order, by making several grants of the prohibited premises, and countenancing an actual invasion of your petitioners, by force of arms, to drive them off from their possessions.

Those violent proceedings, (with the solemn declaration of the supreme court of Newyork, that the charters, conveyances &c. of your petitioners' lands, were utterly null and void) on which they were founded, reduced your petitioners to the disagreeable necessity of taking up arms, as the only means left for the security of their possessions. The consequence of this step was the passing twelve acts of outlawry, by the legislature of Newyork, on the ninth day of March, 1774; which were not intended for the state in general, but only for part of the counties of Albany and Charlotte, viz. such parts thereof as are covered by the Newhampshire charters.

Your petitioners having had no representative in that assembly, when these acts were passed, they first came to the knowledge of them by public papers, in which they were inserted. By these, they were informed, that if three or more of them assembled together to oppose what said assembly called legal authority, that such as should be found assembled to the number of three or more, should be adjudged felons: And that in case they or any of them, should not surrender himself or themselves to certain officers appointed for the purpose of securing them after a warning of seventy days, that then it should be lawful for the respective judges of the supreme court of the province of Newyork, to award execution of *Death*, the same as though he or they had been attainted before a proper court of judicatory. These laws were evidently calculated to intimidate your petitioners into a tame surrender of their rights, and such a state of vassalage, as would entail misery on their latest posterity.

It appears to your petitioners, then an infringement on their rights is still meditated by the state of Newyork; as we find that in their general convention at Harlem, the second day of August last, it was unanimously voted, "That all quitrents formerly due and owing to the crown of Greatbritain within this state, are now due and owing to this convention, or such future government as may hereafter be established in this state."

By a submission to the claims of Newyork, your petitioners would be subjected to the payment of two shillings and six pence sterling on every hundred acres annually; which, compared with the quitrents of Levingston's, Phillips's, and Ran-

sear's

near's manors, and many other enormous tracts in the best situations in the state, would lay the most disproportionate share of the public expence on your petitioners, in all respects the least able to bear it.

The convention of Newyork have now nearly completed a code of laws, for the future government of that state; which, should they be attempted to be put in execution, will subject your petitioners to the fatal necessity of opposing them by every means in their power.

When the declaration of the honourable the Continental Congress of the fourth of July last past, reached your petitioners, they communicated it throughout the whole of their district; and being properly apprized of the proposed meeting; delegates from the several counties and towns in the district, described in the preamble to this petition, did meet at Westminster in said district, and after several adjournments for the purpose of forming themselves into a distinct and separate state; did make and publish a Declaration, "that they would at all times thereafter consider themselves as a free and independent state, capable of regulating their own internal police, in all and every respect whatsoever; and that the people in the said described district, have the sole exclusive right of governing themselves in such a manner and form, as they in their wisdom should choose; not repugnant to any resolves of the honourable the Continental Congress:" And for the mutual support of each other in the maintenance of the freedom and independence of said district or separate state, the said delegates did jointly and severally pledge themselves to each other, by all the ties that are held sacred among men, and resolve and declare, that they were at all times ready, in conjunction with their brethren of the United States, to contribute their full proportion towards maintaining the present just war against the fleets and armies of Greatbritain.

To convey this declaration and resolution to your honourable body, the grand representative of the United States, were we (your more immediate petitioners) delegated by the united and unanimous voices of the representatives of the whole body of the settlers on the described premises, in whose name and behalf, We humbly pray, that the said declaration may be received, and the district described therein be ranked by your honours, among the free and independent American states, and delegates therefrom admitted to seats in the grand Continental Congress, and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Newhamphshire Grants, Westminster, 15th, Jan. 1777.

Signed by order, and in
behalf of said inhabitants.

}	JONAS FAY.	}	
	THOMAS CHITTENDEN.		
	HEMAN ALLEN.		
	REUBEN JONES.		No.

No. V.

The Remonstrance of the Commissioners from Vermont against the Proceedings of Congress, September 22, 1780. — CHAP. X.
p. 256.

To the Honourable CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES of
NORTHAMERICA.

THE remonstrance of Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley, commissioners from the free and independent state of Vermont, appointed for the time being to attend on Congress.

With pleasure they embrace this first opportunity to testify their thanks for the personal honour done them by Congress, in giving them an attendance though in a private capacity, with their honourable body: At the same time lament the necessity which obliges them to say, they can no longer sit as idle spectators, without betraying the trust reposed in them, and doing violence to their feelings, to see partial modes pursued, plans adopted, ex parte evidence exhibited, which derives all its authority from the attestation of the party; passages of writings selected giving very false representations of facts, to answer no other end but to prejudice your honourable body against the *State of Vermont*; thereby to intrigue and baffle a brave and meritorious people out of their rights and liberties. We can easily conceive the secretary's office of the state of New York, may be converted into an inexhaustible source to furnish evidence to answer their purpose in the present dispute.

Needless would it be for us to inform Congress, that by the mode of trial now adopted, the state of Vermont can have no hearing without denying itself: And to close with those resolutions, which we conceive our enemies have extorted from your honourable body, and on which the trial is now placed, would be in fact, taking upon ourselves that humility and self abasement, as to lose our political life, in order to find it.

We believe the wisdom of Congress sufficient to point out, that pursuing the present mode, is deviating from every principle of the laws of nature, or nations: For if the dispute is between the states claiming on the one part, and the state of Vermont on the other, whether the latter be a state *de jure*, as an independent jurisdiction *de facto*; they ought to be considered in the course of the dispute, until the powers interposing, have determined whether the latter be an independent jurisdiction *de jure*, if not they of course ought to annihilate the jurisdiction *de facto*; but to annihilate the state *de facto* in the first place, is summarily ending the dispute; to deny the latter any independent jurisdiction *de facto*, is to deny there is any longer parties in the dispute.

Again we conceive the means connected with the end, and upon no principle whatever can we justify, that either part should establish the modus, or rules to be pursued in determining disputes, without confounding every idea of right and wrong.—In the present case, on the one part might the end as justly have been established as the way and means to effect the end.

We are far from being willing those brave and strenuous efforts made by the state of Vermont in the controversy with Great Britain, should be buried by our grasping adversaries, (thirsting after domination and prey) in the specious pretext of riotously assuming government; and we thereby lose all credit for the men and money we have expended.

Thus while we are necessitated to remonstrate against the proceedings of Congress on the present mode, we are willing at the same time any equitable inquiry should be made, the state of Vermont being allowed equal privileges with the other states in the dispute.

And that the state of Vermont might stand justified to your honourable body, and to the world, both as to her present and future conduct, we are induced, as well from principles of attachment to the American cause, as a regard we have for peace and harmony among the states of America now at war with Great Britain, to make the following proposals, viz :

1st. That the state of Vermont will as soon as may be forward to the secretary of Congress, an attested return of all male persons, liable to do duty agreeable to a militia act heretofore exhibited to Congress in a code of laws, entitled "The Laws of Vermont;" and the state of Vermont shall for and during the present war with Great Britain, from year to year furnish an equal number of troops in the field in proportion to their numbers, as Congress shall estimate the quotas of the several United States in proportion to their numbers; which troops shall be clothed, quartered, and paid, by the state of Vermont. And at the close of the war, the dispute shall be equitably settled by the mediation of sovereign powers; and nothing herein contained, shall be construed to take away the right any of the United States claim to have in or over the state of Vermont: Or

2^{dly}. We are willing to agree upon some one or more of the legislatures of the disinterested states to interpose as mediators, and settle the dispute: Or

3^{dly}. We are willing Congress, being possessed of sovereignty, should interpose to prevent the effusion of human blood: At the same time, we reprobate every idea of Congress sitting as a court of judicature, to determine the dispute by virtue of authority given them by the act or acts of the state or states that make but one party.

It gives us pungent grief that such an important cause at this juncture of affairs, on which our *all* depends, should be forced on by any gentlemen professing themselves friends to the cause of America, with such vehemence and spirit as appears on the part of the state of Newyork : And shall only add, that if the matter be thus pursued, we stand ready to appeal to God and the world, who must be accountable for the awful consequences that may ensue.

Signed at Philadelphia this 22d day of September, A. D. 1780.

IRA ALLEN,
STEPHEN R. BRADLEY.

N^o. VI.

Questions proposed by the Committee of Congress to the Agents on the Part of Vermont, with the Answers of the Agents, August 18, 1781.

Question 1st. **A**RE the boundaries set forth in the written propositions delivered in by the said Agents at this time, claimed by the state of Vermont as the lines of jurisdiction, the same as contained in the resolution of Congress of the 7th of August instant ?

Answer. They are the same, with the addition of part of the waters of Lake Champlain, for the benefit of trade.

Q. 2^d. What part do the people of Vermont mean to take as to the past expenses of the present war, and what aid do they propose to afford as to men and money to the common defence ?

A. Such proportion as shall be mutually judged equitable after their admission to a seat in Congress ; which has been at several different times officially proposed by agents on the part of Vermont.

Q. 3^d. What are the ideas of the people of Vermont relative to the claim of private property, under grants or patents from Newhampshire, or Newyork previous to the present revolution ?

A. Although the state of Vermont have not hitherto authorized any courts to take cognizance of such causes as respect titles of lands, nevertheless they have had, and still have it in contemplation to adopt such modes as the circumstances arising out of each case may justify, without adhering to the strict rules of law.

Q. 4th. What are the intentions of your constituents in regard to the patents that were granted on conditions of settlement within a given time, and which have been prevented by the claims of the people of Vermont, and the present revolution ?

A.

A. No forfeitures have been taken by the state of Vermont on any such grants for nonperformance of conditions of settlement, and we conceive it to be the intention of our constituents to grant a further reasonable time for fulfilling such conditions.

Q. 5th. What are the number of inhabitants within the lines mentioned in the propositions above mentioned?

A. As the citizens of Vermont have not been lately numbered, we can therefore only estimate them at thirty thousand, which we conceive to be nearly a true estimate.

Q. 6th. What quantity of land is contained within the said bounds?

A. There has been no accurate survey of the state of Vermont, but we conceive it to contain about five millions of acres.

Q. 7th. What applications have been made either publicly or privately by the enemies of the United States, or their adherents, to draw off the people of Vermont from their affection to the United States of America?

A. The honourable committee are possessed of copies of Bev. Robinson's letters inclosed in Brigadiergeneral Allen's letter of the 9th day of March last, to the then President of Congress, and any private offers we cannot avouch for.

Q. 8th. In case the enemy should attempt an invasion of the northern frontiers, what aid as to men and provisions could be raised in the state of Vermont for the public defence (you can suppose the invasion made in different quarters) and in what time?

A. The number of militia within the lines herein limited, we suppose to be about seven thousand; are in general well armed and accoutred, and have ever shown themselves spirited in case of alarms, &c. In regard to provisions, the country is fertile, but new, and considerable emigrations from other states to Vermont.—The legislature at their session in October last, levied a tax on the inhabitants sufficient for victualling one thousand five hundred troops in the field for twelve months, and we are of opinion a larger store may be in the same manner collected the ensuing autumn.

No. VII.

An Account of the rateable Property, and of the Number of Inhabitants in Vermont, at different Periods of Time.

BENNINGTON COUNTY.

Names of the Towns.	Value of the rateable property in the year 1781.	Value of the rateable property in the year 1791.	Numb. of Inhab. in 1792.
Bennington	£.11898 0 0	£.11628 18 0	2377
Shafisbury	9118 0 0	10926 9 0	1999
			Names

Names of the Towns	Value of the ratable property in the year 1781.	Value of the ratable property in the year 1791.	Numb. of Inhab. in 1792.
Pownal	£. 6615 10 0	£. 6395 0 0	1746
Manchester	5170 3 0	6578 7 6	1276
Arlington	3503 5 0	4331 15 0	991
Rupert	2711 15 0	4929 15 0	1033
Dorset	2469 12 0	4016 15 0	958
Sunderland	1928 16 0	1932 15 0	414
Stamford	849 5 0	904 0 0	272
Sandgate	847 10 0	2677 5 0	773
Windhall			155
Bromly			71
Reesborough			64
Woodford			60
Glastonbury,			34
Landgrove			31
Total	£.45,111 16 0	£.54,315 19 6	12,254

WINDHAM COUNTY.

Guildford	5836 10 0	6717 11 0	2432
Brattleborough	4999 10 0	5969 12 6	1589
Westminster	4982 5 0	6695 10 0	1601
Putney	4835 8 0	6138 10 0	1848
Halifax	3569 16 0	4640 10 0	1309
Rockingham	3363 0 0	4832 15 0	1235
Dummerston	2970 0 0	4978 0 0	1501
Marlborough	1881 10 0	2676 0 0	629
Wilmington	1874 0 0	2735 10 0	645
Hinsdale	1869 0 0	1908 0 0	482
Newfane	1687 6 0	2597 0 0	660
Townsend	1462 5 0	2463 16 0	676
Londonderry	886 10 0	1560 10 0	362
Whitingham	693 10 0	1352 5 0	442
Athens	442 17 0	1212 5 0	450
Thomlinson	200 0 0	1422 15 0	561
Jamaica	186 10 0	663 15 0	263
Wardsboro' N. D.		1758 10 0	483
Wardsboro' S. D.		1009 15 0	270
Somerset			111
Stratton			95
Johnson's Gore			49
Total	£.41,738 17 0	£.61,332 9 6	17,693

WINDSOR COUNTY.

Windsor	4085 3 0	6667 8 0	1542
Norwich	3659 15 0	5695 0 0	1158
Names			

Names of the Towns.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1781.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1791.	Numb. of Inhab. in 1792.
Hartford	£. 3013 2 6	£. 4709 0 0	688
Woodstock	2770 5 0	5421 9 0	1605
Hartland	2549 10 0	6375 15 0	1652
Springfield	2139 10 0	3781 12 0	1097
Chester	1884 10 0	4703 5 0	981
Pomfret	1493 0 0	3182 15 0	710
Weathersfield	1279 10 0	4130 5 0	1146
Barnard	1027 0 0	3000 15 0	673
Sharon	893 0 0	3416 0 0	569
Royalton	825 0 0	3313 15 0	748
Cavendish	502 0 0	1572 5 0	491
Reading	358 12 0	2601 0 0	747
Andover	301 10 0	990 5 0	275
Bethel		1803 15 0	473
Bridgewater		1106 0 0	293
Rocheester		845 15 0	215
Ludlow			179
Saltaish			106
Stockbridge			100
Total	£. 26,781 7 6	£. 63,315 19 0	15,748

RUTLAND COUNTY.

Rutland	3975 10 0	6324 10 0	1407
Clarendon	3748 8 0	6083 0 0	1478
Tinmouth	3507 5 0	4410 0 0	935
Danby	3241 0 0	4456 15 6	1206
Pawlet	2507 5 0	6038 5 0	1458
Poultney	2296 5 0	4639 17 6	1121
Wells	1300 0 0	2089 0 0	622
Castleton	1257 0 0	3386 11 3	800
Wallingford	1200 0 0	2087 2 0	536
Pittsford	573 10 0	3411 15 0	850
Ira	515 0 0	1220 15 0	312
Shrewsbury	228 0 0	1155 10 0	383
Harwick	200 0 0	513 15 0	165
Middletown		2984 5 0	699
Orwell		2940 15 0	778
Brandon		2273 10 0	637
Fairhaven		2225 8 0	545
Benson		2179 15 0	658
Hubbardton		1692 0 0	404
Sudbury		1032 10 0	238
Chittenden		499 15 0	159
Pittsfield			49

Names

Names of the Towns.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1781.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1791.	Numb. of Inhab. in 1792.
Philadelphia	£.	£.	39
Medway			34
Killington			32
Total	£. 24,549 3 0	£. 61,644 14 3	15,565

ORANGE COUNTY.

Newbury	2880 19 0	3675 0 0	873
Thetford	1802 5 0	3363 15 0	862
Bradford	1450 0 0	2432 0 0	654
Stafford	1349 15 0	3048 0 0	845
Corinth	1075 10 0	1781 0 0	578
Barnet	651 5 0	2028 0 0	477
Fairlee	508 0 0	1419 5 0	463
Ryegate	427 0 0	994 15 0	187
Gulldhall	416 10 0	730 6 11	158
Lunenburg	365 0 0	494 15 0	119
Maldstone	220 0 0	679 10 0	125
Peacham	214 10 0	1367 15 0	365
Randolph		3098 0 0	892
Brookfield		1672 0 0	421
Tunbridge		1641 5 0	487
Vershire		1483 15 0	489
Danville		1440 12 6	574
Williamstown		802 15 0	146
Braintree		799 0 0	221
Chelsea		790 13 6	239
St. Johnsbury		590 0 0	143
Montpelier		383 6 0	118
Topsham			162
Berlin			134
Cabot			122
Wilderburg			76
Washington			72
Brunswick			66
Littleton			63
Lyndon			59
Concord			49
Dewey's Gore			48
Calais			45
Groton			45
Northfield			40
Wheelock			33
Walden's Gore			32
Lemington			31
			Names

Names of the Towns.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1781.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1791.	Numb. of Inhab. in 1792.
Canaan	£.	£.	19
Greensborough			19
Roxbury			14
Walden			11
Hardwick			3
Total	£.14954 ¹ 17 6	£.324796 18 10	10,529

ADDISON COUNTY.

Cornwall	3314 15 0	826
Newhaven	2939 5 0	723
Salisbury	2850 12 6	446
Shoreham	2422 11 0	721
Bridport	2008 0 0	449
Monkton	1985 5 0	450
Addison	1915 10 0	401
Ferrisburg	1843 5 0	481
Leicester	1385 5 0	343
Whiting	1053 10 0	250
Vergennes	940 16 0	201
Middleborough	859 0 0	395
Weybridge	817 5 0	175
Panton	781 0 0	220
Bristol		211
Kingston		101
Hancock		56
Total	£. 25,113 19 6	6,449

CHITTENDEN COUNTY.

Charlotte	2767 12 6	635
Williston	2206 0 0	471
South Hero	1979 5 0	537
Shelburne	1907 16 0	389
Jericho	1728 5 6	381
Hinesburg	1697 15 0	454
Cambridge	1534 5 0	359
Essex	1487 15 0	354
Georgia	1312 10 0	340
Burlington	1258 0 0	332
Milton	1041 0 0	282
St. Albans	914 0 0	256
Fairfax	878 10 0	354
North Hero	569 15 0	125
Colchester	511 10 0	137

Names

Names of the Towns.	Value of the ratable property in the year 1781.	Value of the rata- ble property in the year 1791.			Numb. of Inhab. in 1792.
	£.	£.			
Fairfield		480	14	2	129
Newhuntington		423	10	0	136
Highgate		300	0	0	103
Hungerford		300	0	0	40
Johnlon		275	0	0	93
Smithfield		273	0	0	70
Bolton		176	10	0	88
Middlesex		176	0	0	60
Isle Mott		159	15	0	47
Allburg					446
Waterbury					93
Swanton					74
Underhill					65
Westford					63
Waitsfield					61
St. George					57
Fletcher					47
Huntsburg					46
Hydespark					43
Starksborough					40
Duxbury					39
Wolcott					32
N. Huntington G.					31
Moretown					24
Minden					18
Cambridge Gore					15
Bakersfield					13
Elmore					12
Morristown					10
Total in the County.		24,358	8	2	7,301
Total in the State.	£.149,541 17 6	£.324,796	18	10	85,539

The above are the lists which were given in to the General Assembly, by the particular towns, in conformity to an act of the legislature.—In computing the value of the list taken in 1791, the prices of some of the capital articles were thus stated by the Assembly:—Improved land, ten shillings per acre. Neat cattle, one year old, fifteen shillings per head; two years old, thirty shillings per head; three years old and upwards, forty shillings per head: An ox, four years old, and upwards, three pounds. Horses, one year old, twenty shillings; two years old, forty shillings; three years old, and upwards, four pounds.—As these prices were scarcely one half of the current prices of these articles, the real value of the ratable property

of the state, must have been double of what was set down in the lists. It is probable this was also the case with the lists taken in 1781.—But although neither of these lists will give the exact value of the taxable property of the state, at either of those periods, they will give the increase, or the relative value of the taxable property at those times: And we can clearly deduce from them, that from the year 1781, the whole ratable property of Vermont became doubled, in eight years and an half. In Virginia, the period at which the value of their lands and slaves taken conjunctly, doubles, is stated by Mr. Jefferson, to be about twenty years.*

The number of towns represented in 1781, was sixty three: The number represented in 1791, was one hundred and twenty six. Those towns which are not taxed or represented, do not give in to the assembly any account of their ratable property.

No proper enumeration of the inhabitants of Vermont, was made, before the census taken in 1792. The general estimations of the assemblies and agents before that time, were merely conjectural.—From a report, which Governor Tryon of Newyork made to the king of Greatbritain, of the state of that province in the year 1772, it appears that he had procured a list of the inhabitants of each county in that province: Two of those counties, Cumberland, and Gloucester, were in Vermont; and contained the tract of country, which lies on the east side of the green mountains, and is now formed into the counties of Windham, Windsor, and Orange. The number of people in those counties in the year 1771, was as follows:

* Notes on Virginia, p. 188.

These two Counties, at that time, contained about two thirds of the people in the whole district. The whole number of inhabitants therefore in 1771, must have been about seven thousand.—In the Census taken in 1792, the numbers stood thus :

E R R A T A.

NAMES

NAMES OF THE SUBSCRIBERS.

SENATORS *of the* UNITED STATES.

HONOURABLE JOHN LANGDON, } N. Hampshire.
 Paine Wingate, }
 Caleb Strong, } Massachusetts.
 George Cabot, }
 Theodore Foster, } Rhodeisland.
 Joseph Stanton, }
 Oliver Ellsworth, } Connecticut.
 Roger Sherman, }
 Stephen R. Bradley, 2 copies } Vermont.
 Moses Robinson, }
 Aaron Burr, 2 copies } Newyork.
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 James Munroe, 2 copies, Virginia.
 John Brown, } Kentucky.
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 Benjamin Hawkins, } Northcarolina.
 Samuel Johnson, }
 Pierce Butler, 12 copies, } Southcarolina.
 Ralph Izard }
 William Few, Georgia.

V E R M O N T.

His Excellency Thomas Chittenden, Governor.
 The Honourable Peter Olcott, Lieutenantgovernor.
 The Honourable Timothy Brownson, }
 Samuel Safford, }
 John Strong, }
 Ebenezer Walbridge, 12 cop. }
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